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Article Denounces Western Press 'Slander'

AU2602171190 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 21 Feb 90 pp 3-4

[Napoleon Roshi article: "After the Noise About Pluralism and Press Freedom"]

[Excerpts] A group of students from the History and Philology Faculty has sent a letter to our editorial board, wishing to find out more about the mechanism of the bourgeois press, which makes so much noise about being free and pluralist. We asked journalist Napoleon Roshi for an explanation:

I have been leafing through and studying the press of various Western countries for more than 30 years. This great heap of newspapers and the great pile of paper which goes into creating each issue of a newspaper or magazine inevitably creates the impression of variety in the press. However, after a more careful study, one reaches the conclusion that, leaving aside secondary matters which do not affect basic problems, the press and television somehow produce to order. In the last analysis, the press is in the hands of the rich and of the state of the rich. It is understandable that these patrons will allow variety and "freedom" of the press, but only to the extent that it does not affect the foundations of their oppressive and exploitative order. Of course, dictatorships exist where this absence of press freedom is quite open, but there are also countries where the mechanism to manipulate the press is highly sophisticated and even hard to detect at first glance. However, one thing is certain: In essential problems affecting the bourgeoisie, there is an extraordinary coordination of propaganda over one issue or another.

Let me try to explain. The West and its press knew for a long time who Nicolae Ceausescu was and what his regime was like. However, this press praised Ceausescu's stand for years on end and publicized the awards and honors given to him by U.S. presidents, the queen of England, and so forth. After perestroyka and the developments in East Europe, when Ceausescu was of no more use in an anti-Soviet role (our party showed many years ago how "anti-Soviet" he was), all the Western press united in a chorus to attack and expose Ceausescu's dictatorial regime.

Let us continue. Everybody has long known who Noriega was. The Americans knew him even better, because, as they now say, he was on the CIA's payroll. However, there was silence on this. It was necessary for Noriega to touch a sore point and ask for the removal of U.S. bases from the Canal Zone before the files were opened. The U.S. press, and not the U.S. press alone, was then filled with detailed information about Noriega the drug trafficker. On this basis, the U.S. attack on Panama was carried out and Noriega was arrested and held in a U.S. prison.

Let us take an even more scandalous case. The whole world knows about the monstrous crimes of the Pol Pot regime, which carried out nothing less than genocide against the Cambodian people. At that time, the world press wrote a great deal about these crimes and the 2 million if not more Cambodians who were killed. However, the Western press in general now merely echoes the activities of the Pol Pot bands in Cambodia and has more or less forgotten Pol Pot's crimes. [passage omitted]

The BBC enjoys the reputation of a radio station offering objective information. Nevertheless, when the press in a number of countries, in particular the Belgrade press, launched a slander campaign against our country, the BBC was at pains not to be left behind. Among other things, the BBC used manipulation to try to show the obsolescence of the political commentaries supplied by Radio Tirana and the press. To do this, the BBC transmitted a political commentary about world developments carried by Radio Tirana at least 15 years ago. We listened to the commentary and managed to recognize the voice of an English-language announcer of 15 years ago. The BBC had kept this commentary in its archives in order to serve it up as if it were fresh. One inevitably asks why a radio station which is known to be serious and is thought to have an audience of 150 million should practice such manipulation.

The sensations offered by newspapers of all kinds in the West are innumerable. Our young people recently had the chance to learn about the "four hanged Albanian students" and other sensations served up by this "democratic" press. However, I will write about matters of a different kind, and will describe how a crime and a mining disaster in the FRG in 1988 were depicted in the newspapers. [passage omitted]

More on BCP Supreme Council Session

'Proposal' on Free Elections

AU2602213390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 90 p 3

["Proposal on Creating Reliable Political and Legal Guarantees For Free Elections in the Country," adopted by the meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council in Sofia on 23 February]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] again declares that it sincerely strives toward truly free and democratic elections. It will do everything that depends on it to organize precisely such elections that would correspond with international standards, confirmed in the practice of the countries with developed democratic traditions.

1. For this purpose the party proposes to the National Assembly to postpone the elections by one month and hold them in June 1990 instead of May 1990.

This proposal is an expression of the BCP's political readiness to seek realistic roads of ensuring the necessary favorable atmosphere and loyalty among the political forces in preparing and conducting the elections.

2. In order to preclude any possible speculations about the democratic character of the elections and foil any possible attempts to discredit the election campaign and the election process from within or from outside, the BCP Supreme Council proposes to the appropriate state institutions to invite as guests during the elections two representatives from the parliaments each of the following countries: The USSR, the United States, the FRG, France, England, Canada, Finland, and Austria, as well as representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council and the European Parliament.

3. The Supreme Party Council expects the government to create the necessary organization and to adopt, through the appropriate state organs, efficient measures for ensuring normal conditions for the activity of all political and public forces in the country and for strictly observing public order during the period preceding the elections and during their conduct. The political parties also must adopt appropriate obligations and responsibilities in this respect.

'Position' on Party Organizations

AU2602203790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 90 p 3

["Position on the Political Parties and Organizations at Places of Work and Study During the Period of Transition toward Democratic Political system," adopted by the meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council in Sofia on 23 February]

[Text] The answer to the question of where is it most useful to establish political parties at a given period depends on the specific historical characteristics of the country's development, the traditions and political culture of society, and on the level of democracy.

In many developed democratic states, such as France, England, Spain, Austria, Greece, and so forth, the establishment and activity of the political parties at workplaces is not restricted.

The situation that has emerged in our country at present requires a specific attitude toward resolving this issue. Our country is in the middle of an economic and political crisis. The transition toward democratic government and political pluralism is accompanied by a strong politization of society, by creating many new parties and other social organizations with political goals, and by exacerbating the social and political tension. If we do not take note of those processes, they will strengthen and create socioeconomic and political chaos in the country.

If the establishment of political parties and other organizations with political goals at workplaces is allowed, the real danger emerges that enterprises, offices, and educational establishments would become an arena of sharp political struggle. It will detract their attention and thus aggravate the solution of their immediate tasks related to overcoming the crisis.

Therefore, led by national interests, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adheres to an approach that does not produce one-sided benefits for separate political forces and is based on a national consensus. Therefore, the BCP Supreme Council proposes to discontinue by a law the existence of party and other political organizations at places of work and study.

Simultaneously, while we support the existence of trade unions and professional-creative organizations at workplaces, we categorically oppose attempts to create under this form semi-trade unions and semi-party political structures, which would actively participate in the party-political groups, federations, and alliances.

The BCP Supreme Council is convinced that the interests of the nation stand above the interests of the separate political parties, and that if the attention of all political forces and figures is directed toward further developing the peaceful process of democratization, better conditions for developing the economy and overcoming the crisis will be created.

We propose to construct all political parties and organizations on the territorial principle, in order to avoid chaos in the enterprises, ensure stability, good order and discipline, and create conditions of greater freedom in the activity of the economic leaders in accordance with their responsibilities.

The BCP Supreme Council points out that the BCP Statute allows the establishment of primary party organizations, party clubs, and other organizational forms

outside the enterprises, offices, and educational establishments, and bases them on a professional-creative or other foundation.

The 14th BCP Congress ordered the separation of the activity of the party, the state, and economic structures. In this context the BCP Supreme Council considers it necessary to discontinue the participation of party secretaries in the administrative organs of the state, economic, scientific, cultural, and other establishments and organizations, if they have been incorporated in those organs as party secretaries. In addition, the BCP Supreme Council considers it necessary to discontinue the practice of issuing references by the party organizations and organs for citizens who are not BCP members. Simultaneously, we consider it democratic to decisively democratize and simplify the system of verifications and documents, related to the administrative services for the population.

The BCP is against any privileges based on membership in any political organization and against any form of discrimination because of membership in such organizations.

This is the BCP position on the basic elements that should be incorporated in the Law on Political Parties that will be introduced to and adopted by the National Assembly.

'Proposal' on Democracy

AU2602142490 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 90 p 3

["Proposal on Guaranteeing Peaceful Development of Transition Toward Democratic Political System," adopted by a meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council in Sofia on 23 February]

[Text] The parties, movements, and organizations, that participate in the national "roundtable"—recognizing that the people's interests must stand above all other interests; confirming the conviction that the transition toward a democratic political system in Bulgaria must take place in a nonviolent, bloodless, and civilized manner; expressing their common concern that every manifestation of violence, regardless where it was initiated, will foil this process; noting that ensuring public order and a calm situation in the country is in the interest of all; and fully understanding their constitutional obligation to act only within the framework of the law,—assume the following moral and political obligations to the Bulgarian people. In their forthcoming election campaign they will:

1. Refrain from using violent means and methods, propagating violence in any form, and allowing the development of disturbances and chaos in the country.

2. View the political confrontation as a competition of ideas, platforms, and programs and demonstrate tolerance toward the opponents' opinions, that is inherent to every democratic and civilized society, while striving toward reaching agreement through constructive dialogue.

3. Guarantee mutual noninterference in their political activity, refrain from illegally preventing or obstructing any political events, including peaceful meetings and rallies, and eliminate all attempts to destroy propaganda material of the other side.

4. Refrain from using printed matter and the mass media for political provocations and instigation to violence.

5. Prevent and intercept violence and be ready to assume political and moral responsibility for illegal actions of their members or supporters.

6. Invest maximum efforts in creating the necessary conditions for normally and peacefully conducting the elections while observing total democracy and equal possibilities to participate for all.

7. Demand an increase in the responsibility of the law and order organs in anything related to:

maintaining security and public order, while their activity is totally subjected to the democratic changes in the Constitution and the country's legislation; decisively preventing and intercepting all attempts to use physical, moral, and psychological pressure and terror both against political leaders and individual citizens; seizing illegal weapons; providing equal protection and facilitating the self-protection of the buildings, premises, and other objects of the legally registered and acting political and public forces.

The participants in the national "roundtable" call upon all other political and public forces and all Bulgarian citizens to support this declaration and adhere to it.

'Proposal' on Roundtable

AU2602122990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 90 p 1

["Proposal on Increasing the Role of the National 'Roundtable,'" adopted by the meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council in Sofia on 23 February]

[Text] The national "roundtable" is one of the most eloquent proofs of our society's process of radical renewal and democratization that began after 10 November 1990. In our political practice, this is a new and unprecedented form of cooperation among the country's political and public forces. Despite the relatively brief period of its existence, the "roundtable" demonstrated that it can be a vital and useful factor.

The broad and impartial public in our country had the opportunity to see that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is conducting a constructive and consistent policy of negotiating with the country's political and public forces, and that it places national considerations and interests above narrow party ones. BCP representatives

are demonstrating willingness to cooperate, as well as tolerance, and they behave in a democratic manner, corresponding with the requirements of such a civilized form of contacts among the various public and political forces.

In addition, the "roundtable" is the only place where the partners can discuss and resolve the most topical social, economic, and political issues of our country's crisis, in a spirit of mutual confidence, in a calm atmosphere, and without the artificially created tension from outside.

Simultaneously, well-founded concern with the work of the "roundtable" and various claims emerged among the broad public. The talks do not have a sufficiently purposeful character. Very little attention was devoted until now to the socioeconomic issues. Certain participants have demonstrated a unconstructive approach. The low efficiency of the "roundtable" does not meet society's expectations.

In order to increase the role of the "roundtable" the Supreme Party Council proposes the following to its partners:

1. Enhancing the political status of the "roundtable." To use the "roundtable" as a public and political forum of cooperation among the governing, opposition, and other forces on the most pressing problems of the crisis and the further development of society.

2. Increasingly asserting itself as an active factor in the process of social democratization, the national "roundtable" must assume a specific political obligation to implement the agreements that have been reached through its participants' activity, and issue specific proposals to the appropriate state institutions.

3. The level of the delegations of the political parties and public organizations participating in the "roundtable" must increase. Their first leaders must represent them at the "roundtable" plenary meetings.

4. The "roundtable" should form working expert committees, composed by specialists in various areas, which should competently discuss and work out drafts on solutions related to the basic political, economic, social, and other problems.

5. The "roundtable" must immediately proceed to discuss the vital socioeconomic issues that face our country and directly interest all people.

6. The "roundtable" should overcome the character of its work until now by ridding itself of excessive political and propaganda noise and increasing its efficiency, competence, precision, and productivity.

Giving the BCP delegation the mandate to actively and constructively participate in the "roundtable," the Supreme Party Council expresses its confidence that the "roundtable" is capable of implementing its role in our country's democratic renewal.

'Decision' on Party Name Referendum

AU2602225790 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Feb 90 p 3

["Decision on All-Party Referendum on Changing Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) Name," adopted by the meeting of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council in Sofia on 23 February]

[Text] The 14th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] supports the conducting of a party referendum on the issue of the party name.

The name of every political party is synthesized with its basic program goals. By adopting the manifesto, the party directed itself toward the values of democratic socialism and categorically disassociated itself from the deformations of the period of the authoritative model of socialism. Those essential changes must also find their expression in the party's name.

It must reflect the new course toward our party's ideological, political, organizational, and cadre renewal. At each stage of its activity the party has adapted its name to the goals and tasks it posed for itself, and the means of their achievement. This has always been so throughout its 100-year history.

The change in the name is also required by the necessity to show the new face of the party to the Bulgarian and world public. This will contribute on the one hand to expanding its possibilities for domestic and international contacts, and on the other it will stimulate the processes of renewal within the party.

At the same time this will prevent the attempts to identify the party with certain negative aspects of its past, as well as attempts to deny or underestimate its readiness to lead the country out of the crisis and construct a democratic political system.

The change will be consonant with the democratic processes in the East European countries, which were reflected in renewing the Marxist parties, among other means, by changing their names.

The BCP Supreme Council points out that by changing its name, the party does not relinquish its history. Under its new name the party will preserve the continuity of its most valuable traditions, achievements, and political and human virtues, and will continue to develop them under new historical conditions.

Simultaneously, it must be noted that the change of name is not only a political but also a psychological issue. Not all party members are prepared to accept a new name. The experience of other countries shows that changing the name is not a formal act, and that it could produce heavy shocks and consequences if the necessity of the change and its positive importance for the future of the party and socialism are not understood.

Therefore now it is exceptionally important to conduct broad educational work among the party organizations

and the party members and cadres through the party press and the various forms of political education. The BCP Supreme Soviet decided:

1. To conduct a referendum on the issue of the party name in March 1990. It must be conducted through a secret vote in all primary party organizations and clubs that have the status of primary party organizations.

The referendum must be utilized for stimulating the processes of renewal in the party, and forming and expressing its new image.

2. To propose the Bulgarian socialist Party (BSP) as the party's new name party.

Opposition Reacts to BCP Council Decisions

UDF's Pavlov 'Satisfied'

AU2402205590 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—An opposition leader made a positive evaluation of the package of political initiatives adopted at yesterday's session of the Supreme Council of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

In the PANORAMA survey programme of the Bulgarian Television the representative of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], Dr. Lyubomir Pavlov, assessed the decisions as a step towards democratization. In actual fact, by the adoption of these decisions our demands are satisfied, Dr. Pavlov said.

Other Leaders 'Have Reserves'

AU2602160590 Sofia BTA in English 1229 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Opposition Leaders Have Reserves About Bulgarian Communist Party Leadership Decisions"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Once more the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Supreme Council is trying to get round the basic problems, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), states in today's DEMOKRATSIYA. Dr. Zhelev criticizes the refusal of the BCP Supreme Council to set up party organizations only on the principle of place of residence. He blames the Communists for speaking about strengthening the role of the roundtable and raising its status, while on the other hand they intend to submit all major bills directly for discussion at the next session of the National Assembly. This, in the UDF leader's view, along with appointing Mr. Pavel Pisarev chairman of the Committee of Television and Radio without any preliminary discussion, is an example of torpedoing the roundtable talks.

According to UDF Spokesman Rumen Vodenicharov the decision of the BCP Supreme Council is an unjustifiable delay. Now this decision is disguised as an initiative of the BCP, but in actual fact it is the agreement reached by the roundtable contact group, Rumen Vodenicharov says. In his opinion the situation of the reformers in the BCP is precarious and they want to come off victorious from a dialogue which has not been always conducted correctly. That is why they chose to represent the decision as their own initiative, he says.

Prof. Nikolay Vasilev, the initiator of the establishment of the Alternative Socialist Party which split from the Alternative Socialist Association Faction of the BCP, considers that the BCP has permeated all kinds of power, institutions and economic organizations in Bulgaria. The decision to disband the BCP organization at workplaces now satisfies solely the narrow party interests of the BCP. Prof. Vasilev points out that the hardliners in the BCP do not want to be members of a political party, they want to be part of a one-million-strong giant that rules Bulgaria and imposes its iron will on the other eight million citizens of Bulgaria.

Democratic Front Supports Opposition Declaration

AU2402181290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The Democratic Front, an independent citizens organization, has come out in support of the declaration on the political stance of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] delivered by Georgi Spasov on Bulgarian Television last night. The front's declaration states that the organization unreservedly ascribes to the UDF declaration against blocking the roundtable's activity by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The Coordinating Council of the Democratic Front calls upon all of its members, all participants in the democratic movements and people of like mind, and all right-thinking Bulgarian citizens to adopt an active position, in the name of our children's future, for a real change in the style, method of action, and conduct of the BCP's [Bulgarian Communist Party] leadership at this fateful juncture for us.

The Coordinating Council of the Democratic Front appeals to all its members to take part in the rally that will be organized by the UDF at 1300 on 25 February in the square in front of the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral in Sofia.

The declaration is signed by Svetozar Ivanov, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Front, and his deputy chairman Nikola Meranzov and Pavel Mazulov.

Socialist Faction Demands New BCP Congress

AU2302134290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] A declaration signed by the action [operativen] council of the Alternative Socialist Association faction [ASO] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] calls for preparations to be started immediately for a new extraordinary BCP congress, with new delegates directly elected by the primary party organizations. At the faction's second national conference this demand was motivated by the conclusion that the 14th BCP Congress failed to fulfill its main task of turning the BCP into a new modern socialist party.

The congress did not acknowledge the BCP's historical responsibility for the extant crisis now affecting Bulgarian society, the declaration states. It failed to find the strength or to have the decency to apologize to the Bulgarian people. In assuming its historical responsibility, the ASO deems itself bound to remain in the party, in order to fight for dismantling the party's totalitarian structures and its moral purification.

The ASO also states its position regarding the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] and the roundtable." It is stressed that the ASO and UDF share common aims in the democratization of society and the dismantling of the totalitarian structures it contains. The faction regards the left forces in the UDF as its political partners. At the same time, it also expresses its disquiet over certain trends in the UDF to crudely identify the members of the BCP with the totalitarian regime, and over the opposition to socialism and democracy.

According to the faction, the "roundtable" is not justifying the expectations of constructive solutions to the problems. It has turned into an arena for unconcealed political ambitions and struggle for power. It is pointed out that the BCP delegation is also contributing to this lack of a constructive approach, and a call is made for the delegation to be changed.

The ASO declares that the parties and political organizations must build up their structures solely on the territorial principle. It is proposed that the rank-and-file Communists should themselves disband their own party organizations at workplaces.

The faction welcomes the separate emergence of the new Alternative Socialist Party. "We consider that the ASO and the Alternative Socialist Party are guided by the selfsame ideological principles and share common goals, toward which they are striving, utilizing different means," the declaration states.

UDF's Zhelev Meets With BZNS' Dimitrov

AU2302165590 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 22 Feb 90 p 1

[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME report: "Constructive Talk"]

[Text] Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], yesterday met Zhelyu Zhelev, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], at the Aleksandur Stambolyiski Memorial Home. For approximately one hour they discussed the country's general political situation and tried to map out mutually acceptable steps toward intensifying the democratization processes. Attention was drawn to the requirement of promptly unblocking the work of the national roundtable. The two leaders mutually agreed that the upcoming plenary session can be held as early as on Monday, 26 February, and that the agreement reached by the contact group could be officially signed at this upcoming session.

Negotiations on GATT Membership Announced

AU2302214190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] As a result of active consultations on a multilateral and bilateral basis, GATT decided today to accept the mandate of the working group dealing with Bulgaria's forthcoming GATT membership.

The decision envisages that the procedure adopted for reviewing Bulgaria's candidacy for GATT membership should be duly applied. The working group is expected to deal with questions concerning our country's transition to a market economy. The positive stand of the United States on the mandate of the working group, as a result of the new political and economic situation in our country, played a favorable role in this respect.

This decision actually marks the beginning of the work on Bulgaria's membership of GATT. The negotiations are expected to proceed in a constructive spirit of goodwill.

Journalist Denounces Yalta Agreement as 'Immoral'

AU1002151590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by Encho [illegible]odinov, POGLED foreign policy commentator: "Moral Standards in Politics"]

[Excerpts] Moral standards and politics: At first glance these two concepts seem to be incompatible—at least in the minds of numerous people throughout the world.

This applies in particular to people in that part of the world where "real socialism" was supposed to be built, as we believed until recently. "What kind of moral standards are supposed to exist in politics?" asked a bearded tractor driver in Tolbukhin Okrug a few years ago, where I was sent with the assignment of telling people who were exhausted from hard work about the results of the Washington meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

Personally, I think that an immoral political act was accomplished in Yalta 45 years ago, when three men (with different moral concepts) "de facto" divided Europe into spheres of influence, and as a result of which both Churchill and Roosevelt indirectly helped Stalin to incorporate entire states into his orbit, thus cutting off many of them from their European roots. If today all East European countries, like beggars, are knocking on the doors of the common European home which Gorbachev proposes to build, if Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Romanians, and others are humbly and hopefully waiting to see what the bankers and politicians of the Common Market, the United States, and Japan are going to do—all of this has a moral explanation. All the events from Yalta to the Berlin Wall and to Afghanistan, including the disgraceful renaming of our Muslims—all of these political decisions are heavy burdens on the conscience of hundreds of politicians (and not only on theirs), who, deprived of all restraint, for the sake of personal or narrow state ambitions, committed acts which still make millions of people blush with shame. [passage omitted]

It was precisely the lack of moral standards and civil courage that forced Bulgarian journalists to remain silent when the Syrian Army in northern Lebanon slaughtered Palestinians. We were silent while the late shah of Iran stuffed our mouths with oil, while the Western media had already denounced the bestiality of his janissaries from the Savak. We noisily applauded every meeting with Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu and generously awarded them with all sorts of medals, while Ruse River was slowly dying from the poisoning of fumes from Giurgiu and from our own fumes, while we were engaged in commenting upon on the poisoned Indians in Bhopal. We delicately passed over in silence the great slaughtering on Tiananmen Square in Beijing. We tried hard not to offend the Albanian leaders, and God forbid we should offend someone in Belgrade by saying too much about the events in Kosovo. We also tried to be careful with Al-Qadhdhafi, because we know that he owes us large amounts of money, but we also feel guilty about realizing how our own government is most brutally robbing its citizens who are working under almost slave-like conditions in the deserts and jungles of Asia and Africa.

However, throughout all those years, we journalists were told that we had to be grateful for the piece of bread that we were earning because we did not understand certain things and it would be better if we did not pull against the bit, and that we should not look too closely into our own backyard, but eagerly search for the evils of capitalism, and that we should constantly point out how Negroes are beaten up. Whenever someone tried to write something normal, about normal people, and their absolutely normal lives in normal America, as happened to the author of these lines, it was normally hinted that he was nothing but a CIA agent.... [passage omitted]

This is precisely the reason why in parting with the past and facing a not too rosy future, it is important for us, as a nation, to brighten our stifling moral atmosphere with a bit of fresh air and to realize that we cannot advance along the path of progress unless we have purged our souls.

USSR Troops Begin Withdrawal From N. Moravia

LD2602175790 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Frendstat Pod Radhostem, North Moravia, Feb 26 (CTK)—A train fully loaded with Soviet tanks, ammunition and heavy combat equipment left here for the Soviet Union at 14:40 Central European Time today. After almost 22 years the withdrawal of Soviet troops "temporarily" deployed in Czechoslovakia has started.

Today's farewell to Soviet soldiers at the Friendstat Barracks in the presence of Czechoslovak and foreign journalists was dignified.

The almost 2,000 Soviet soldiers deployed in Frenstat will have to leave by March 15 at the latest. Another two trains of the expected 14 will leave tomorrow. Columns of cars are to leave in the last stage of the withdrawal. A total of 226 flats [appartments] and out-buildings will be handed to the national committee here.

The talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops started in Prague on January 15, 1990. The final inter-governmental agreement on the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is ready for signing. The biggest problem in its elaboration was the Soviet Union's disagreement with the Czechoslovak demand that all Soviet troops should leave Czechoslovakia by the end of this year. The Soviet Union explained its position as being due to technical problems related to the withdrawal and proposed the end of 1991 as the deadline for the pull-out. At a press conference in Prague on February 13 Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky admitted the possibility of a compromise settlement of the deadline for the pull-out.

Czechoslovakia's demand is that a decisive part of the Soviet troops, in particular the combat units, leave Czechoslovakia by the June parliamentary elections.

Soviet troops occupied Czechoslovakia together with Polish, East German, Hungarian and Bulgarian units on August 21, 1968 in order to stop the continuation of the democratization process in society. While Polish, East German, Hungarian and Bulgarian troops later left Czechoslovakia, the Soviet units remained here under a "Czechoslovak-Soviet Government agreement on conditions of the temporary stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia", signed on October 16, 1968 in Prague.

In its statement of December 3, 1989 the Czechoslovak Government characterized the August 1968 invasion as a violation of norms of relations between sovereign countries and proposed to the Soviet Government to start talks on an inter-governmental agreement on the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia.

During their meeting on December 4, 1989 in Moscow, the leading representatives of Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR qualified the military intervention of their troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968 as interference in the affairs of the sovereign Czechoslovak state, and stated that this military intervention must be condemned.

Government Outlines Withdrawal

LD2602202590 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—35 per cent of Soviet soldiers and 50 per cent of the most dangerous combat technology will leave the Czechoslovak territory by the end of this May, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek told the Federal Assembly here today.

The second stage of the withdrawal will be completed by December 31, 1990 and the remaining Soviet soldiers and their families will leave the country by June 30, 1991.

Deputy of the House of the People Michael Kocab stressed that he does not consider the term of the completion of the withdrawal to be ideal. He called for a quick annulment of the treaty of October 1968 and draw attention to the situation in the Soviet Union which cannot be predicted. "If conservative forces in the Soviet Union take over power, the term of the withdrawal of Soviet troops could be considerably prolonged e.g. under the pretext of a united Germany", he underlined.

Michael Kocab also suggested the creation of a mixed parliamentary commission which would monitor the withdrawal of the troops.

Commenting on the question if the withdrawal of Soviet troops and bilateral discussions do not affect the disarmament consultations of 23 countries in Vienna, Evzen Vacek said that they will be beneficial for them. In the debate the deputies appreciated the procedure of the Czechoslovak delegation during the discussions with the Soviet side and described their result as successful.

Soviet Reportage on Havel's Visit to USSR

WA2702124090

For Soviet reportage on the visit to the Soviet Union by President Vaclav Havel, including reports on his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, see the East Europe section of the 27 February and subsequent issues of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Soviet Army Scheduled for Joint Maneuvers 1 Mar

LD2602163890 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—Regular allies exercises of troops of the Czecoslovak People's Army and the Central Group of Troops of the Soviet Army will be held in the region of Karlovy Vary, West Bohemia, Most, Northern Bohemia, Kralupy Nad Vltavou, Central Bohemia, and

Plzen, West Bohemia, on March 1-4 1990, according to an announcement of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Defence.

A total of 7,200 soldiers will participate.

U.S. Trip Included Talks With IMF, World Bank

AU2302180390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 p 7

[CTK report: "Economic Talks"]

[Text] Washington—A significant element of Vaclav Havel's visit to the United States consists of the economic and political talks being conducted in Washington by members of his entourage. Vladimir Dlouhy, CSSR deputy premier, and Vaclav Klaus, CSSR finance minister, briefed CTK reporters on their course to date.

V. Dlouhy stated that the Czechoslovak guests were received at the highest level possible at the IMF. According to the agreement reached, two IMF working groups will come to the CSSR at the beginning of March in order to discuss technical conditions.

We also conducted similar talks with representatives of the World Bank, said V. Dlouhy. Considerable interest was shown here in Czechoslovakia's membership which, however, is linked to membership of the IMF.

As far as Czechoslovak-U.S. relations are concerned, several important issues were discussed at the meeting between both presidents. The U.S. side was particularly interested in the specific spheres of our economy in which U.S. companies may be able to participate.

Robert Mosbacher, U.S. trade secretary, will visit Prague next week with a sizable group of experts in order to contribute as speedily as possible to drawing up an agreement. We expect the first version to be drafted during his visit and we consider it a realistic possibility that a contract will be signed before June. Fundamental issues involving the protection of foreign investments in Czechoslovakia and the transfer of profits still have to be resolved in the investment sphere, said V. Dlouhy.

In essence, the one condition surrounding the renewal of Czechoslovakia's membership in the IMF is to provide the fund with specific details about the Czechoslovak economy, said V. Klaus. A special group has already been set up for this purpose at the Ministry of Finance and we envisage that our membership could be renewed at the IMF's next session in September. As the fund's representatives said, this would perhaps be a world record for speed in accepting a country into the IMF.

We consider the talks to have been very successful as the first group of IMF experts in Prague, besides gaining information about the Czechoslovak economy, will grant our side consultations and will cooperate in our projects. On the one hand, the Czechoslovak economy is interesting for the fund because it is not in such a bad condition as the economies in other East European countries and, on the other hand, because the approaches we have contemplated, according to IMF representatives, prompt the hope that Czechoslovakia will avoid other countries' mistakes while carrying out its reforms. We are not expecting loans from the IMF directly, but membership will provide us with many advantages in the sphere of technical assistance, consultancy, access to investments, and so on. For example, we are preparing tax reform and IMF experts can furnish us with valuable information and advice. However, the main thing is that IMF membership will turn us into a serious world partner and will increase our prestige, said V. Klaus.

Komarek, Ministers Hold Talks With Mosbacher

LD2602232190 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—Great progress has been reached in the preparation of the documents which will make it possible to considerably develop economic relations between the USA and Czechoslovakia, U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher stressed here today during his talks with Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek.

The U.S. official had also talks with Finance Minster Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak.

The Czechoslovak and American representatives proposed the creation of a joint bank or of another centre which would provide American and Czechoslovak partners with regular and reliable information about the business possibilities.

Obstacles to Foreign Investment Examined

AU2302105090 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Engineer Ondrej Novak, candidate of sciences, general director of Tessek Prague, a Czechoslovak-Danish joint venture, and chairman of the Czechoslovak Joint Venture Club, by Radovan Muska; place and date not given: "Joint Ventures Have a Future...But the Conditions Are Still Harsh"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Muska] What is it, in your opinion, that discourages foreign partners most from undertaking business ventures in Czechoslovakia on a larger scale?

[Novak] In discussions with foreign industrialists, it is, for instance, the sphere of taxation that comes under fire fairly frequently. Of course, it is possible to argue that the 40-percent tax on profit which applies to joint ventures puts them at an advantage, compared with state enterprises, for instance. It needs to be said, however, that they do not enjoy the advantages of state enterprises and have no chance of getting anything from central funds. That is one thing. Second, there is probably no other country in the world where a joint venture must

generate profit from the very beginning. Everywhere else, a "profitless" period of up to 5 years is foreseen. I have to say that, compared with Hungary, the GDR, or the USSR, the conditions in the sphere of taxation in Czechoslovakia are still the toughest. The relatively small number of joint ventures in our country proves me right. Of course, the law on joint ventures does foresee the possibility of tax relief, but it is defined in such a way that the enterprise must apply for it. It can, but does not have to, get this tax relief and, even if it gets it, it is confined to 2 years. I believe that, considering how long it takes to establish oneself on world markets, this is not enough. Our subsidiary in Denmark, for example, will not have to pay any taxes for five years and we are even in the midst of negotiations on a government subsidy. Something like that is, for the time being, out of the question in Czechoslovakia.

Another sphere that comes under fire is transfer of profits. Under the law [on joint ventures], repatriation of profits is guaranteed only from the foreign exchange capital stock of the joint enterprise, which, of course, has its logic in the nonconvertibility of our currency. However, this stipulation severely limits the desirable establishment of joint ventures in some branches and it certainly does not contribute to the foreign partners' trust. Apart from this, they find our wage regulations completely incomprehensible—i.e., all the limitations and restrictions standing in the way of the requisite dependence of wages on work performance. In our large cities, they regard as very "interesting" the practice of assigning location [dislokace], the fact that an enterprise can be set up but has virtually no chance of acquiring premises for its activity. The normal procedure in the world is that you can buy property. In Czechoslovakia, even if you are the owner of some property, the location assignment commission [dislokacni komise] can assign it to a different organization. Our partners find this completely incomprehensible.

[Muska] And [what is it that prevents a greater number of joint ventures] as far as the approach of our organizations is concerned?

[Novak] Our participants in joint ventures very often consider the benefits of a joint enterprise solely from the viewpoint of meeting their own targets. As a result, people whose interests as shareholders are somewhat divergent sit together on the executive boards of joint ventures. The foreign partner is represented by people who speak about money in the sense of hard currency, from which they can derive personal benefit. Our side, on the other hand, is represented by representatives of enterprises who speak about money as one of many elements of the state plan which does not concern them personally in any way. This accounts for a certain lack of balance, which is bound to create problems.

[Muska] What is the mission of the club, of which you are the chairman?

[Novak] Joint ventures are some sort of a special enclave in our economy, which predetermines their association. The club can help solve their common problems. As a matter of fact, similar institutions exist also in the neighboring countries. The club was established in mid-1989 and serves both domestic and foreign participants.

Government Official Defends Trade With USSR

AU2302164390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 pp 1,7

["(JC)"-signed report: "That Would Be Economic Suicide"]

[Excerpt] Moscow (From our own correspondent)—"Do not believe rumors. Our interest in trade with the Soviet Union is absolutely not declining. That would be economic suicide. Supplies from the USSR are, and will continue to be, irreplaceable for us. To think otherwise would mean to think in an uneconomic fashion."

These introductory words by Zdenek Cerveny, director of the CSSR minister for foreign trade's office, sparked discussion at yesterday's news conference held in our trade mission. From the material which Czechoslovak and Soviet journalists were given before the meeting with representatives of our foreign trade organizations, it appeared that for two years the mutual exchange of goods between both countries has been declining. Last year in particular, there was a sharp fall in Czechoslovak exports (by 7.3 percent) and in our imports from the USSR (by 2.6 percent). The Soviet Union's share in our foreign trade turnover is only 30 percent.

However, regardless of the record fall in exports, Czechoslovakia continues to maintain an active balance in trade with the USSR. However, this means a further growth in Soviet indebtedness to the CSSR and de facto puts a brake on increasing our exports. On the other hand, Soviet companies' poor activity and initiative on the Czechoslovak market mean than Soviet exports are not expanding (as had been required) beyond the framework of limited possibilities for raw material supplies. [passage omitted]

Guest Status in Council of Europe Recommended

AU2302172590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovakia Into the Council of Europe"]

[Text] Paris — A delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly headed by Jozef Stank, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Chamber of Nations, took part in a debate of the committee for relations with nonmember countries of the Council of Europe in Paris on 21 February. The Council informed the Czechoslovak members of parliament that it has decided to recommend to the council bodies that Czechoslovakia be given guest status at the Council of Europe.

Klaus Interviewed on Budget, TU Issues

AU2402162390

[Editorial Report] Prague PRACE in Czech on 22 February on page 5, under the headline "The Treasury Is Not Bottomless," carries a 2,800-word interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jaroslav Hejkal. During the interview, this year's budget and other economic issues are discussed.

In reply to Hejkal's question about the budget's main aims, Klaus says: "We have set ourselves two main budget aims. The first is anti-inflationary, as we consider inflation to be the main short-term threat confronting us. Unleashing inflation would mean a definite end to any attempts at reform in the Czechoslovak economy and a slide into the reform pitfalls which, to this or that extent, some neighboring reforming economies have not been able to avoid. Therefore, we want to turn an original budget deficit into a budget surplus; this is the alpha and omega of our budgetary alphabet. Of course, this year's budget cannot only have this, shall we say, anti-inflationary element; it must also initiate the process in which the state's interference in the economy will decline and the responsibility, authority, successes, and failures of individual economic entities, especially of enterprises, will increase. The second thing we want to initiate is the Czechoslovak economy's transformation from one type to another. Because I do not have a better word for it at the moment, I will say that the budget has a transformation aim; this means, to reduce the amount of redistribution and to limit the huge package of subsidies put into our state budgets way back in the past."

According to Hejkal, some Czechoslovak economists think it is a mistake to have a tight budget and that it should be an expansive and deficit budget. Klaus replies: "I think our economists vary in their estimates of how deep the level of the inflationary type of economic imbalance is—this means, the preponderance of demand over supply in individual markets. However, they do not differ in one thing: In our economy, when demand exceeds supply, inflationary imbalance predominates."

The next question concerns subsidies. Hejkal wants to know Klaus' views on limiting these. According to the minister, "It is impossible to agree with the argument that there should be a dramatic limitation of subsidies overnight. In any case, such an intention is not contained in the draft 1990 state budget; in my opinion, the pace of restricting subsidies, considered in the budget, is very moderate. It is even more moderate than recommended by a number of outstanding economists in our country and the world, and more moderate than the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—of which we want to become a member very soon—will recommend. I am of the opinion that if we proceed further in reducing subsidies at this moderate pace, as we are resolved to do during the remainder of this year, then we would not be able to get rid of subsidies for many decades. Therefore, next year we will have to proceed against subsidies considerably more than this year."

Hejkal then asks Klaus to quantify some fundamental budget items. In his reply the minister says: "We consider it fundamental not to touch any previous social 'achievements' or even the promises made by the former government, promises which this year concern the social care, health care, and education spheres. We accept the budget aims—although reluctantly—in these spheres as they were originally presented."

Hejkal notes that, so far, opening the borders has not benefited the treasury or the domestic market. He wants to know if something will be done about this in the future. According to Klaus, "the first step was opening the borders, the second was movement in the rate of exchange, and the third was the impact on the situation in our domestic market." He continues by saying: "I am always being asked when the convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna will take place. I always say, if there is pressure from the public, from political forces, or trade union organizations against any kind of movement in our current retail prices, then the koruna's convertibility will never take place. Until we introduce changes to domestic price levels, the situation in our border regions will remain as it is or we will have to close the borders, which is unrealistic."

At the end of the interview, Hejkal asks Klaus for his view of cooperation with the future trade unions. The minister responds by saying: "I envisage that the unions will be a significant social force in our state and that they will do what appertains to them. They will defend the interests of employees against employers and not only do what they did in the past—that is, fuss about International Women's Day, recreation, and such things. The core of their activity will be somewhere else and they will become the partner of other participating social forces and, of course, of the governments. Klaus rounds off his answer by saying: "Our society needs capable trade unions and our government, and I personally, envisage that the unions will be a capable partner."

Price Changes to 'Assist' Market Economy

AU2302203790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Vladimir Cechlovsky report: "Contractual Prices Are Expanding"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—Contractual prices—that is, prices fixed according to an agreement between the supplier and the customer—are nothing new in our country. However, this year their implementation has significantly expanded.

While the volume of production supplied to the domestic market—where it is possible to arrange contractual prices or contractual markups and reductions—during 1989 is estimated at eight to 10 percent, this year it should amount to 20-30 percent. Contractual retail prices will involve products and services at a capacity of approximately 12 percent of overall retail turnover.

As Ladislav Dvorak, minister entrusted with managing the Federal Price Office, and representatives of the national ministries of finance, prices, and wages said at a news conference in Prague on 20 February, the aim of the gradual freeing of prices is to assist as actively as possible in the introduction of a market economy. Contractual prices are expanding only in those spheres where there is a balance in the market and a competitive environment among producers which, along with thorough controls, should prevent a negative social impact. Last year, the amount by which the level of retail prices increased during the transfer to contractual prices came to 0.6 billion korunas.

Citizens will have to gradually get used to different prices in shops, businesses, and on the market. For example, contractual prices previously applicable to products, jobs, labor, and services supplied by citizens will be regulated by a form of setting maximum prices. Limits will only apply to food products, to fruit and vegetables produced by citizens themselves, and to forest produce [lesni plod] offered for sale. National committees may determine maximum prices in other instances but, as opposed to the previous situation, this will be in an exceptional case. Contractual prices will apply, among other things, to accommodation in three to five star hotels and, shortly to the sale of citizens' property. The appropriate decree should be prepared within two months.

As far as equality in rent for state and cooperative apartments is concerned, L. Dvorak said that new prices should be made public before a certain date and that tenants should have a year to arrange an exchange or sale of the apartment, according to their needs and possibilities. He confirmed that during the first six months of the year, food prices will not be increased. The "scenario" for policy in the sphere of amending retail prices will be discussed by the CSSR Government in March and, according to this, a chronological series of other measures will be determined.

Production Halted Due to Soviet Supply Cut

LD2302230590

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 23 February broadcasts a five minute report on the Slovnaft plant in Vojany, Trebisov district of East Slovakia, one of the plants of the Bratislava-based Slovnaft concern. The plant employs about 350 staff, who make semi-finished and finished goods from oil delivered from the Soviet Union. However, in view of its internal problems, the Soviet Union has asked for it to be allowed to postpone fulfilment of deliveries, the report notes.

The correspondent, interviewing a manager from the plant, is told that in January, instead of 105,000 tonnes of oil as planned, the plant processed only 55,800 tonnes. In February they processed nothing at all, and oil processing is not expected to resume again "until the end of March." In the meantime they are carrying out routine maintenance work, some of which was left over from the general overhaul last year, and about 90 staff have been assigned to other work at the plant.

A trade union official, asked whether the workers' pay had been affected, says that they have been promised by management that their pay will not suffer in any way, but the staff are disgruntled at not being able to continue production.

Media Workers Form Independent Trade Union

LD2402212590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] A constituent congress of the trade union of mass media workers took place in Prague today. Frantisek Hejny reports in brief on its deliberations:

[Begin Hejny recording] The union was founded by trade union organizations of Czechoslovak television, radio, and CTK. The statutes, which embody the principal program for the next period, show that this is a voluntary democratic organization, independent from political, economic, and state structures. Its aim is above all to defend and push through interests of its members in the field of work, legal protection, wages, and the social sphere, including the right to work.

Every citizen of Czechoslovakia, and conceivably also foreign nationals, who work in the field of mass media can become a member of the union. The union will provide its members, among other things, with free legal protection and represent them in dealings with economic and state bodies as well as in court cases, providing these are linked to performance in their profession.

At the end of the session the delegates elected a coordination committee which will be in charge of future activities of the union. [end recording]

Federal Trade Unionists Conclude Conference

LD2402225590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] A special conference of chairmen and delegated members of federal trade unions, including those of the metal industry workers, railway workers, Czechoslovak People's Army employees, state employees, building workers, mineworkers, communications workers, and film industry employees, called to discuss the current state of preparations of the all-trade union congress which is to abolish the existing Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and set up a confederation of new, independent trade unions, ended today. It was stated at the conference that attempts have been made to disrupt the congress itself, and that the legality of the constituent congresses of individual trade unions was being questioned. Also mentioned was the fact that old all-trade union structures were being activated with their officials tasked with appealing to primary organizations of the new trade unions to maintain the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. For this reason, chairmen of the

individual trade unions again called for the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to end its activity and transfer all rights and property to the new unions to enable them to defend the interests of working people independent of the state, parties, and employees. Members of the new trade unions are resolved to thwart any attempts to disrupt the congress and to use all accessible means for this purpose.

Arab Embassies Criticize Transit for Soviet Jews

AU2302165390

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 February, page 7, carries a 750-word "statement by Arab ambassadors accredited in Czechoslovakia" on the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. In the statement, they warn that this emigration "poses a threat toward solving the Arab-Israeli conflict and its crux—the Palestinian issue," particularly after the publication of the Israeli government's plans for the settlement of Soviet Jews on the Israeli- occupied "Palestinian and other Arab territories." The ambassadors point out that these plans run counter to UN resolutions on the Middle East, and violate the Palestinians' human rights.

The ambassadors go on to object to the "restrictions imposed on the immigration of Soviet Jews by the United States and other Western countries," contending that these measures "limit the freedom of movement of Soviet Jews" and are "reminiscent of the restrictions that were applied against Jewish refugees from Nazism in 1940."

In conclusion, "on the basis of the aforementioned facts and the proposal that has been put forward to the effect that the Czechoslovak territory serve as a point of transit for Soviet Jews on the way to Israel," the Arab ambassadors call upon the "Czechoslovak public" to "condemn the Israeli plans," and thereby contribute to a solution to the Middle East conflict.

Official Defends Policy

LD2302172290 Prague CTK in English 1522 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Vera Bartoskova has voiced discontent over the wording of a statement of Arab ambassadors to Czechoslovakia published yesterday and calling on the Czechoslovak public to condemn the potential transit of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel via Czechoslovak territory, the Foreign Ministry's spokesman told CTK today.

Vera Bartoskova received representatives of the Arab part of the Prague diplomatic corps and the ambassador of the state of Palestine yesterday. She characterized their action as unusual and stated that Czechoslovakia's critical stand on the question of resettlement of areas occupied by Israel has been published recently. Czechoslovakia fully respects the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention on protection of civilians at the time of war.

The question of transit of Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel via Czechoslovak territory is now being considered in Czechoslovakia from the humanitarian and legal points of view as well as from the point of view of the interest of third sides and ensuring security of both the emigrants and Czechoslovak citizens, in harmony with the general declaration of human rights and the international agreement on civic and political rights. However, Czechoslovakia believes that the right of every individual to choose his or her place of residence must be effectively guaranteed in practice. Czechoslovakia actively participates in the solution of these problems in the framework of the United Nations. It wants to help solve the question of emigration of Soviet Jews as far as it can, with full respect for international bonds in the sphere of human rights as well as the rights of the peoples and states concerned.

Government Issues Statement on Feb 1948

LD2602191190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The federal government has adopted a statement on the 42d anniversary of the February 1948 events.

It states that at the end of World War II Czechs and Slovaks decided to set out on new paths. There were prerequisites for beginning cooperation between various political currents and for creating a democratic society, the statement says. During the government crisis in February 1948 Communists also made use of anticonstitutional means. With armed pressure, they pushed through their own solution. In doing this they opened the gate to Stalinist totalitarian force. Using a foreign example, they undertook further nationalization, they bureaucratized the economy, and forcibly collectivized agriculture. They staged trials against their former allies and finally also against their own leaders. The ideals and justified longings of a section of our people were misused.

As the statement says, foreign intevention and those who aided it, using force, took everything back to the old tracks in 1968 when the hope of freedom from totalitarianism had been born. This regime erased from record not only names but also valuable periods of our history, deprived citizens of prospects, and of freedom and work for many of them.

The federal government therefore considers it vital to work out a draft law calling for investigation of cases of those unjustly convicted, allowing those who suffered damage to be rehabilitated and compensated.

The statement stresses at its close that there are a number of anniversaries in the history of our people to which we can return with pride. Time has in the same way exposed the place in history of the events of February 1948. Therefore, there is no reason for 25 February to be designated a special day, and the government will propose that it be removed from the relevant law.

New Laws on Right To Assemble, Military Service

LD2602232890 Prague CTK in English 1957 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—The citizens have the right to assemble peacefully without preliminary permission of a state body, according to a bill on the freedom of assembly approved by the Czechoslovak Government here today.

The government also approved bills on the freedom of association, the right to petition and partial amendments to the press law.

The execution of the freedom of assembly must be restricted in no way. According to the right to petition everybody has the right to apply to state bodies with requests, proposals and complaints in connection with public or other interest. The bill on some measures in the sphere of the press provides for the most urgent legislative changes concerning the removal of the basic legal obstacles to free activities of mass media and establishment of new periodical press. Publishers of new papers will not have to ask for permission but only for registration.

In connection with acquiring and losing Czechoslovak citizenship, the government approved a bill abolishing all decisions on the deprivation of state citizenship and removed this issue as such from the Czechoslovak legal order.

The government also approved a draft amendment to the defence law and a bill on civil service. The aim of the amendment to the defence law is above all to shorten the military service from 24 to 18 months and prevent the use of soldiers e.g. in agriculture. The aim of the bill on civil service is to enable citizens whose religion or moral conviction prevent them from executing military service to execute civil service which will last 1.5 times longer than the military.

The government voiced agreement with the dissolution of police emergency units both in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics.

The government also dealt with a report on the current state and development of the Czechoslovak federation which will be delivered by Premier Marian Calfa in the Federal Assembly tomorrow.

Joint Federal Assembly Opens 27 Feb

LD2702100890 Prague CTK in English 0932 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CTK)—A two-day joint sesion of the House of the People and House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly started here today.

New deputies will be elected on the first day of the session, including new deputy chairman of the supreme legislative body. In the afternoon Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa will deliver a report on the fulfilment of the program statement of the Czechoslovak Government, socio-political situation in the country and on concrete tasks of the government for the forthcoming period.

On the agenda is also the discussion on new bills regulating the activities of the supreme legislative body, including the bill on the elections to the federal assembly.

Three New Federal Ministers Installed

LD1602235490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] First Deputy Federal Premier Valtr Komarek today installed Slavomir Stracarin in the post of federal minister of metallurgy, machine building, and electrical engineering, and (Jaroslav Suva) in the post of federal minister for fuel and power. First Deputy Federal Premier Jan Carnogursky installed minister (Vladimir Prikavsky) [post not specified].

Hungarian Independent Initiative Formed in Slovakia

AU2302171190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 90 p 2

["vd"-signed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone ..." column]

[Text] The Hungarian Independent Initiative [Madarska Nezavisla Iniciativa] was registered on 19 February as the first Hungarian political organization in Slovakia.

Havel Sends Greetings

LD2502231290 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today sent a telegram of greetings to the first assembly of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, which associates Hungarian-nationality citizens in Slovakia, stressing their ethical and political attitude enables rapproachment and humane coexistence of the nations of Central Europe.

The telegram also pointed to the importance of the organization in the effort to attain not only legal, but genuine equality of national and ethnic minorities.

The president said that our common goal, Europe, will not be attained on the basis of prejudices and antagonisms, but on the basis of mutual respect, moral purity and active cooperation.

Initiative Holds General Assembly

LD2502231990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Independent Hungarian Initiative has held its first general assembly in Komarno. The reporter is Evelin Forro.

[Forro] On one of the most burning issues, preparation for the June elections, the general assembly made no advance because Czechoslovakia still does not have a new electoral law. In other words, it is only a partial success that the Independent Hungarian Initiative, having declared independence for its internal organization, has elected a leading body. The big question continues to be how many candidates it will field in the elections and who its coalition partners will be. All this will be left for next week, when the electoral law will be passed in parliament, and with that the conditions will become known.

The present circumstances by no means favor the Hungarian minority. Karoly Toth, the movement's newly elected chairman, in answer to a question by Hungarian Radio, said that they consider the Coexistence Movement ["egyutteles mozgalom"] founded by Miklos Duray as a partner, but they do not know its program or principles.

I asked the chairman for his opinion on the anti-Magyar movements. He said they consider the anti-Magyar attitude to be worrisome, but this does not apply to the whole of Slovakia. In his view, since Slovak nationalism is built on the reflex of the perceived enemy image, it is relatively easy to disarm. The Independent Hungarian Initiative considers it a failure that in the Slovak Government, contrary to what had been promised, the Magyars did not get the deputy ministerial portfolios. As they said, the intention was absent on the official side. They do not consider it beneficial, either, that the Nationality Committee functioning alongside the Federal Government is headed by Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky. It has to be noted that he leads the Christian Democratic Party and is not exactly renowned for his pro-Magyar principles. Precisely for this reason, the Independent Hungarian Initiative has proposed that a Nationality and Human Rights Ministry be set up in the Federal Government.

Moravia, Silesia Representatives Question Rights

LD1602142490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Deputies of the South Moravian Regional National Committee in Brno today issued a memorandum regarding the legal and state organization of the republic.

They stated that the present state did not correspond to the rights of citizens of Moravia and Silesia—given by historical, sociological, psychological, and economic reasons—for self-administration of the territory where they live.

They recommend that the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic put right the deformations created during the last 42 years under a totalitarian regime. Therefore, they fully supported the formation of experts' commissions of the central organs in which representatives delegated from the South and North Moravian Regions would work.

Request Election Law Change

LD1602142190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The coordination council of the Society for Moravia and Silesia and the civic movement in Moravia handed a statement to CTK today.

It recommends that the regulation of the Paragraph No. Five of the draft election law be amended to set the election districts according to the historical borders of the Moravian and Silesian lands, as were valid until 1948.

We demand, the statement says, that the principle disallowing the recall of deputies not be approved.

Mohorita Pessimistic About Party Support

LD2302150390 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—"The conditions under which our party enters the pre-election struggle are extraordinarily unfavourable," first Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Vasil Mohorita told Prague communists here yesterday.

Vasil Mohorita, whose speech is carried by RUDE PRAVO today, pointed out that the communist party has been experiencing a crisis and has suffered a heavy poltical defeat. Despite this it is the only party "able to face the creation of a new power monopoly," he said.

Last year's November 17 was a logical conclusion of the crisis development caused by the inability of communist party leading representatives to react to the existing situation. It was impossible to prevent the crisis with a leadership formed after the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. "Any advancing reform would have revealed the harmfulness and political wrongness of the then normalization processes, as well as the unlawfulness of the armies' interferences," Vasil Mohorita said, adding that even after November 17 there existed a partial chance for preparing better initial conditions for the communist party. But the helplessness of the newly elected presidium, lack of political prudence and simply the inability to pursue a realistic policy have resulted in the loss of any initiative. The party was only towed by events, Vasil Mohotita said.

Communist Party Unified in Bratislava

AU2302095390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 90 p 2

["sd"-signed report: "Single Guiding Center"]

[Text] Bratislava — A united Bratislava organization of the Communist Party of Slovakia was constituted in

Bratislava yesterday, at a joint session of municipal district conferences I through V. It was necessary to unify the organization not only because of the significant drop in membership and in the activity of many communists, but also in view of the approaching parliamentary elections in June 1990. By constituting a municipal guiding body of the party, financial and material savings of considerable magnitude will be achieved. Also, the number of administrative workers will drop substantially, informational, editorial, and conceptual work will be rationalized, and conditions for the utilization of computer technology will be created. The conference, which established the Bratislava organization of the Slovak Communist Party, then elected its leading bodies.

LIDOVE NOVINY Editor on Paper's Future

PM2102121990 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 10 Feb 90 p 53

[Report on interview with LIDOVE NOVINY chief editor Jiri Ruml by Malgorzata Bos-Karczewska; place and date not given: "LIDOVE NOVINY Appears Even Without Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] LIDOVE NOVINY is the first independent newspaper in Czechoslovakia. The paper, a monthly samizdat publication, has been legalized after a two-year illegal existence and is now being gradually turned into a daily. At present the paper is published twice a week.

The official Federal Press and Information Organization acted as the publisher of the first legal issue. A piquant detail: Formerly this organization had been working against the samizdat LIDOVE NOVINY. "This turnabout was terribly stimulating for our staff," said Jiri Ruml, chief editor of LIDOVE NOVINY. Ruml was active in Charter-77, and was one of this democratization movement's three spokesmen in 1984.

LIDOVE NOVINY (THE PEOPLE'S PAPER) is the only newspaper in Czechoslovakia that is bilingual: in Czech and Slovak. The paper has a print run of 500,000 copies, of which 300,000 remain in Prague while the rest go mostly to Brno. In rural areas the paper is difficult to get hold of, since the state distribution system is bureaucratic in its operation.

"At this moment we are beginning the registration of subscriptions for the daily edition. To solve the distribution problem we are planning to hire private cars and to take on delivery staff. We would like to take over the formula of LE MONDE and eventually also achieve its standard. Our first step in this direction is to put no photographs on the front page, only cartoons."

Until recently five staff worked on the samizdat LIDOVE NOVINY. Now there is a staff of 30, but the number must be doubled if the paper is to become a daily. Ruml: "We have a great advantage over the other papers. There are many Czechoslovak emigrants who as professional journalists or economists have told us that they want to work with us. This gives us the chance of building up a network of correspondents out in the world."

At present the paper is financed by a bridging credit from a Charter-77 fund. "We are financially independent and want to remain so. That is why we also want to set up a commercial book and periodical publishing house. Also, we can count on financial support from friends abroad. In Switzerland a special bank account for 'Friends of LIDOVE NOVINY' has even been opened. That money is needed to buy modern equipment. We want to make a paper of a European standard within a year."

Last year the Polish independent newspaper, GAZETA WYBORCZA, received secondhand typewriters from LE MONDE. LIDOVE NOVINY too has had similar offers from Scandinavia and France. Two technicians from Scandinavia are currently staying here to acquaint themselves with the situation. So far there have been no offers of help from the Netherlands.

As an independent paper LIDOVE NOVINY still has no real competitors. Competition is limited to the newspapers of the state press combine and of the political parties: the communist RUDE PRAVO, the social democratic PRAVO LIDU, the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIA of the People's Party, the socialist SVOBODNE SLOVO of the trade unions. Then there is MLADA FRONTA, a paper for young people.

LIDOVE NOVINY is not an extension of Civic Forum. Civic Forum is intending to set up its own newspaper, but has offered help to LIDOVE NOVINY. Ruml: "As citizens we chose the side of Civic Forum. But that does not mean that we will only reflect their views in our paper.

"Nevertheless, the position of LIDOVE NOVINY is very special if you remember that current President Vaclav Havel, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, and Information Minister Kusy have all been members of our staff. But LIDOVE NOVINY must not become a government paper. We would like these government people to continue to write for our paper on a personal basis. That is the best way to maintain and emphasize our independence. We are behind everyone who is for freedom, democracy, and independence, and who wants to build a new and healthy society."

How will LIDOVE NOVINY contribute to the promotion of independent thinking by citizens? In its first edition it dealt with the banishment of Germans from Czechoslovakia in 1945. The paper offers space for an open discussion of this formerly taboo subject. "In this way people can learn what freedom of expression is," Ruml said.

Chief Editors' Council Established in Slovakia

AU2302142590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "A Council of Chief Editors"]

[Text] Representatives of HLAS LUDU, LUD, PRACE, PRAVDA, ROLNICKE NOVINY, SMENA, SPORT, VECERNIK, and UJ SZO held a meeting in Bratislava yesterday. These press organs have a daily press run of more than a million copies. Their representatives founded the Council of Chief Editors of Slovak Dailies at the meeting. This informal consultative organ is intended to resolve in a cooperative manner common problems facing the daily press in Slovakia and to act on behalf of their interests, and thus on behalf of readers' interests. Milos Nemecek, chief editor of PRACE, was elected as chairman of the Council of Chief Editors of Slovak Dailies.

Journalists' Organization Accused of 'Treachery'

AU2302205390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "We Distance Ourselves From the International Organization of Journalists"]

[Text] The Syndicate of Journalists Interim Administrative Council, which affiliates the Czech and Moravian journalistic community, has issued a statement in Prague. Among other things, the statement says: The International Organization of Journalists [MON], which has operated in Prague since 1947, has continually violated principles such as the protection of free speech and journalistic independence, which—along with other principles—were contained in its policy. It placed itself at the complete disposal of totalitarian regimes in Czechoslovakia and in other East European countries, and became their trustworthy and obedient ideological tool. MON embarked upon this road in 1948 when it rejected requests by a number of Western members' organizations to act in defense of Czechoslovak journalists who, after the February revolution by the so-called action committees, had been driven out of editorial offices. After 1968 this culminated in open support for discrimination against journalists during the so-called consolidation process, and even in the expulsion from the international Prague secretariat of representatives of those national members' organizations who disagreed with political developments in Czechoslovakia and with the persecution of journalists. MON also adhered to this line in September 1989 when it inconsiderately refused to make note of a request made by the Czechoslovak and world journalistic community to act in defense of the imprisoned LIDOVE NOVINY editors.

MON's activity in Prague is a 40-year-long history charting the betrayal of the interests of the host country's journalists and a constant trampling on the fundamental ethical principles of the journalistic mission. MON's ossified and dogmatic character is revealed by the fact that even more than three months after the Czechoslovak Revolution on 17 November 1989, it has not uttered one word of apology for the treachery is has committed during past decades in its host country and in neighboring countries. On the contrary, at its Executive Committee session held at the end of January 1990 in Portugal, the Executive Committee once again confirmed to its leading positions representatives of the politically and morally corrupt former Czechoslovak party nomenclature.

Since the demise of the Czechoslovak Journalists Association, the Czechoslovak Journalists Community has not become a member of MON. In view of all these facts, we do not consider it likely that Czech and Moravian journalists will again apply for membership in this discredited organization. We also think that Czechoslovakia and Prague should not in the future be the headquarters for this organization or for its economic apparatus, which in past years has parasitically lived off the sick domestic economy.

Civic Forum Pledges Support for Jun Elections

LD2302131290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2230 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] The news conference by Civic Forum, the most influential political force in Czechoslovakia, has specified today who will be nominated to the June elections on behalf of Civic Forum. Apart from the nonaffiliated, they will be representatives of eight political parties, including the Christian Democratic Party, Czechoslovak Social Democracy, Left Alternative, and Obroda. The election list must also make provision for representatives from regions, national minorities, and some interest associations.

Dubcek, Others Address Bratislava Rally

LD2502215990 Prague CTK in English 2018 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 25 (CTK)—Dozens of thousands of people took part in the meeting held under the slogan "from totality to democracy" held here today as a symbolical contribution to the reassessment of the February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's advisor Milan Knazko said that in February 1948 violence won in Czechoslovakia, and thousands of lives were forcibly ended in the following 42 years, dozens of thousands of people suffered in jails, and hundreds of thousands others had to leave their homeland.

Our democracy now is only the beginning of the road, Milan Knazko said voicing the conviction that the road will be a good one.

Addressing the rally, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexandr Dubcek said that most important for the success of the current transformations are really free democratic elections.

February 1948 and the events that followed constitute a warning what everything can happen when the people lose power, Alexandr Dubcek said. He stressed that we tried to right the wrongs already 22 years ago when we succeeded in rehabilitating more than 38,000 people unjustly persecuted.

All Czechoslovak history will have to be purified from deformations, and the Federal Assembly is preparing relevant legal measures, Alexandr Dubcek pointed out.

Twenty-two years ago we rejected the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia and asked that they leave our territory. Now this is becoming reality, Alexandr Dubcek said.

He stressed that this is due also especially to the fact that also the USSR is carrying out a process of democratization which is supported by Czechoslovakia as a movement connected with all-human interests. That is why Czechoslovakia fully supports the reform democratic movement headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, the Federal Assembly chairman pointed out.

Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky said that the people will have to let themselves be heard once more so that our freedom be sure—in the elections where the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia must lose.

Student Death Not Linked to 17 Nov Events

LD2202181890 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—No link between the tragic death of student Jan Jelecek and the finding of his dead body in mid-November 1989 and the November 17 events in Prague has been confirmed, public security investigator from Ceske Budejovice in south Bohemia Vladidmir Marc told CTK today.

He said that the dead body of student Jan Jelecek was found in the Prachatice district, south Bohemia, on November 15, 1989 after he had been missing for some time. Before the investigation was concluded, students and civic intiatives became interested in the case and, not knowing the basic data, linked this matter with the November 17 events, he said stressing that this link has not been proved and all those concerned have been acquainted with the fact.

As for the case of Mr. S., a witness linked with the case of Jan Jelecek who claimed he had been threatened by unknown persons and forced to leave his home together with his family, this man has not been heard yet and his importance as a witness is not great, the investgator said. He stated that everything is being done for an objective investigation of all circumstances of Jan Jelecek's death and the same attention will also be paid to the case of Mr. S.

Republican Party Congress To Present Demands

AU2302164590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 22 Feb 90 p 7

[CTK report: "They Want the Ukraine"]

[Text] Prague—Two hundred and fifty delegates will meet at the Assembly for the Republic, the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia congress on Saturday 24 February in Prague's Kyjev cinema. Yesterday in Prague, M. Sladek, chairman of the party's preparatory committee, briefed journalists on the demands which will probably be discussed at the congress. These include, for example, the return of the Transcarpathian Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, the status of Communist ideology, parties outside the law —in case the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia does not exclude from its program any mention of laying claim to power in society—and so on.

Military Compound Explosion 'Operational' Problem

LD2602152290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Major General Cestmir Hrbek, representative of the Western Military Area Command, spoke today about the two explosions that occured in the military equipment compound in Drhovice, near Tabor, last Friday night. He said that the first explosion occurred shortly before midnight in one of the staff vehicles. Specialists then tried to ascertain whether a similar danger threatened other equipment. Three of the staff enterd a covered installation, and on switching on the lamp there was a strong explosion, followed by a fire. Those inside were killed immediately, and others were injured. Specialists believe that gas generated from batteries for motor vehicles being charged apparently accumulated in excess in the installation. The accident was thus a case of an operational and production fault. It has been excluded that it could have been caused by an unknown person, and there is no danger of another explosion.

Two New Parties Hold Constituent Congresses

LD2402171590 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 24 (CTK)—The Independent Left held its constituent congress here today, and applied for registration by the Czech and Slovak Interior Ministries.

The congress approved the rules, program and bodies of the party, and elected Jaroslav Travnicek its chairman.

The Independent Left strives for a socially just democratic society. It recognizes the values of democratic socialism, the principles of the Socialist International, of freedom, social justice and solidarity.

The party wants to become a counter-weight in the bloc of leftist democratic forces to possible trends to uncontrolled denationalization, privatization, and selling out

of the national wealth to small groups of the rich from both Czechoslovakia and abroad.

The radical right of the present Czechoslovak political spectrum is represented by the Association for the Republic—the Republican Party of Czechoslovakia which held its constituent congress here today.

It applied for registration by the Czech and Slovak Ministries of the Interior a fortnight ago.

According to Miroslav Sladek, who was elected its chairman, the party will assert the principles of democracy, freedom, market economy, and creating of guarantees against any form of dictatorship.

In the economy it will strive for demonopolization and privatization, including banks and savings banks, and for a progressive taxation system. It is resolutely opposed to selling out the national wealth abroad.

The Czechoslovak republicans favour revision of all legal acts passed after the year 1948.

Modrow Rejects Kohl Decision on Unification

LD2602163590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—NATO membership for the Germany of the future, which U.S. President Bush and FRG Chancellor Kohl have already come out in favor of, cannot be decided by the United States and the FRG alone. This was pointed out by GDR Premier Hans Modrow in an interview with the U.S. television company ABC. There is no unanimity of views on this even in the FRG.

As is well known, the "four-plus-two" conference is being prepared. Other European governments have yet to present their views on this matter—especially, of course, Poland, which has a right to make known its views on its western frontier. Regrettably, Chancellor Kohl has recently again given evasive answers.

On his candidacy for the Party of Democratic Socialism, Hans Modrow said, in an interview on topical issues, the contents of which was received by ADN on Monday: "Prior to my decision, which was not easy, I had much to consider. The decisive factor was that a new party is emerging here, in which many young people are also active, and it was they in particular who came to me with the demand that I should contribute my experience. Moreover, members from other parties who hold state office are also running. Thus on this point the necessary [words indistinct] of both German states unconditionally to guarantee rightfully obtained property in the GDR. This includes land reform and investments undertaken with reliance on legal title and, not least, the citizens' savings. Difficult issues must be decided on by both states. There should on no account be a hasty and superficial consideration of the legal position.

The premier once again stressed his call for German politicians not to give highest priority to election tactics, but to be guided by national responsibility.

Bonn's Reaction to Gorbachev Remarks Criticized

AU2302131490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Klaus Joachim Herrmann editorial: "Blind Zeal"]

[Text] In his joy that Moscow recognized the "Germans' right to unity"—which, by the way, had never been called into question by the Soviet Union—Chancellor Kohl obviously missed the fact that at the same time Gorbachev named the conditions. However, because the one-sided interpretation of his statements incited the excessive zeal of those forces that are striving for unity immediately and through intra-German solo actions, a clear word was necessary.

In his interview for PRAVDA on 21 February, Gorbachev noted that it cannot be tolerated that the Germans come to an agreement among themselves and that all others simply have to agree with their decisions. The national interests of the neighbors, guarantees for borders of other states, and the impermissibility of the destruction of the military-strategic balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO have to be taken into consideration. Only an international legal act can guarantee the inviolability of the borders; only a peace treaty can finally determine Germany's status within the European structure.

A good sign of goodwill for solidarity certainly is that the idea of the "four plus two" talks emerged simultaneously and independent of each other in the capital cities of the Four Powers because they have not been released from the responsibility for Germany. Linked with the pan-European process and under particular consideration of the interests of other countries, in particular Poland, the issue will be the overall and stage-by-state discussion of all external aspects of German unification.

Nobody should be surprised if Moscow schedules for all this a bit more time than some German politicians think they have in the election campaign. Not least, this is also commanded by the living memory of the Soviet people of that devastating war that started from Germany. This, if nothing else, should certainly make Moscow's approach understandable: Blind zeal causes only harm.

Envoy to Moscow on Relations With USSR

AU2602144090 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Feb 90 pp 164-172

[Interview with Gerd Koenig, ambassador to the Soviet Union, by Joerg R. Mettke and Dieter Wild in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [DER SPIEGEL] When did you notice that the Soviet Union might put up with the GDR's statehood for disposition?

[Koenig] The USSR has always supported the GDR in its independence as a state. At the same time, it, like us, knew that one day we would have to face the question of a united Germany....

[DER SPIEGEL, interrupting] But only in the form that socialism would knock on the door of the FRG, as Honecker always hoped.

[Koenig] Yes, but of course this has no longer been the case during my time in Moscow. I am able to read—also to read between the lines—and I noticed how many Soviet authors suddenly described the overcoming of the existence of two German states as the political task of the day.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is Moscow somehow partly to blame for what happened to the GDR?

[Koenig] Well, of course, we were the ones to blame, above all. Many signals that came from Moscow were not heeded. Therefore, I would find it immoral to blame the USSR after the events. However, concerning the German question, all parties involved did not think

about it sufficiently and did not fully coordinate their actions. When then the call for "Germany, united fatherland" was heard in the streets, everybody was surprised—the GDR and the FRG, the USSR and the United States, France and Great Britain.

[DER SPIEGEL] Allegedly, Gorbachev told the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] at the 40th anniversary of the GDR that he knew Honecker was trying to bring about a Berlin-Prague-Beijing axis, which Moscow would not accept. Shortly afterward Honecker was ousted. Did this happen in this way?

[Koenig] I was present not only at the Politburo session but also at the so-called private talks, and I can assure you this description is pure invention. Gorbachev does not conduct a talk in this way, he is much too sensitive. At that time, he mainly spoke about his own policy and about his own mistakes. The famous phrase "those who come too late are punished by life," he first of all referred to himself—the reference to the GDR was only secondary. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Ambassador, the GDR's identity included—much more than it was known—the enormous importance of the State Security Service, the so-called comprehensive monitoring of the entire country. Was this State Security also omnipresent in the foreign embassies?

[Koenig] Of course there were security officers, as in the embassies of all countries in the world. Here there were four men—they are gone. And, of course, there are—also like all over the world—members of the reconnaissance service; I do not even know them, at least not officially. Finally, outside the embassy there was an aktiv of the Ministry of State Security that was responsible for cooperation with the USSR.

[DER SPIEGEL] Was it subordinate to you?

[Koenig] No, it was directly subordinate to the Ministry of State Security. This group has also been disbanded.

[DER SPIEGEL] Obviously with reason—because it informed the Soviet Union badly about what was boiling in the GDR.

[Koenig] Do not forget the many Soviet institutions in the GDR. I think that they certainly kept their eyes open. Actually they should have been better informed than we here.

[DER SPIEGEL] The GDR was a world expert in deception.

[Koenig] I agree with you. It was perhaps one of our biggest "achievements" that we knew how to give the impression that we were a political and economically stable state. Of course, for the Soviet citizen the view of the GDR was approximately like the one for the GDR citizen in the FRG. Thus, no one became aware of the fact that, in reality, the GDR was the weakest link in the chain of the East European states. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Have your interlocutors here understood that you are the representative of a party that will slide into a minority position and lose power in the GDR?

[Koenig] At the end of last year, a number of interlocutors had difficulties in understanding that the former SED is no longer the ruling party and that its character has changed fundamentally. Today they have adjusted to the new reality. Here and there, there are still some speculations about the role that the new Party of Democratic Socialism will play.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are there also speculations about whether the CPSU might suffer a fate similar to the one of the SED?

[Koenig] I have not heard such fears, and one does have to allow for certain differences to the GDR. Here the party has always had a different position to the one in our country, and it still does; here perestroyka was introduced by the party. Thus, there are good prospects that Gorbachev's statement of "Those who come too late are punished by life" will not catch up with the author.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Ambassador, thank you for this interview.

Volkskammer Speaker on Unity, Danish Talks

PM1302155790 Copenhagen
BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Feb 90 p 5

[Jorn Mikkelsen report: "GDR Understanding of Danish Fears"]

[Text] In Copenhagen on 2 February, GDR Volkskammer Speaker Guenther Maleuda expressed understanding that the neighbors of the two Germanys—including Denmark—should have "certain justified worries" at the prospect of a united Germany.

Guenther Maleuda, who headed a group of parliamentarians on a two-day visit to the Folketing with Folketing Chairman H.P. Clausen as their host, said at an end-of-visit news conference that Prime Minister Hans Modrow's proposed plan for a reunified Germany, with its idea of German neutrality, is an attempt to "instill confidence in neighboring countries."

He added that German unity can only happen if it takes place within the framework of general disarmament in Europe, the abolition of the military blocs, and movement toward closer cooperation in Europe.

He was unwilling to comment on an opinion poll in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that showed that 58 percent of Danes say "no" to German unity.

In line with representatives of the GDR's other four parties, Guenther Maleuda, who is a member of the East German Peasants' Party, voiced full support for Hans Modrow's reunification plan, including the call for

German neutrality. He added that one of the first conditions that must be met is joint acceptance of Poland's present western border and that all talk of the 1937 borders must cease.

Maleuda also expressed surprise over the Modrow plan. He had not been informed about either the timing or the content of Modrow's speech in East Berlin on 1 February, he said.

Guenther Maleuda said of the talks with Danish parliamentarians at Christiansborg that they had been "substantive exchanges of views." There will be closer contacts between Denmark and the GDR, particularly in the fields of the environment, tourism, and economic cooperation, he predicted.

"It has been very rewarding to be briefed on Denmark's understanding of democracy, which we think could be of great importance to the GDR," Maleuda said.

The GDR delegation returns to Berlin this morning and has invited H.P. Clausen to pay a return visit.

Recent Stoltenberg Remarks Criticized

AU2302122090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Editorial by Herbert Annas: "Sand-Table Exercise"]

[Text] The sand table is some kind of substitute for real battlefields for military officials where they try out the tactical variants. As the result of such a "play of thoughts," FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg announced in BADISCHE ZEITUNG that a unified Germany should be incorporated in NATO, and that Bundeswehr units might "advance to the Oder with fifes and drums."

As a matter of fact, Stoltenberg has meanwhile beaten "an orderly retreat." After strong protest from abroad, Bonn is trying to limit the damage. The minister's thoughts were only a slip, officials pointed out.

Is that true? For NATO Secretary General Woerner, Stoltenberg's deliberations are "a tactical game," but "a very natural one." However, Bonn's rejection of Stoltenberg's statements does not dispel fears that influential circles are not interested in unification but in annexation. There has been talk that a future unified Germany should not be neutralized and demilitarized but incorporated in the Western alliance—which can only be NATO.

If Bonn had been serious about the rejection, the obvious thing to do would have been to accept the proposal of the Soviet Union to withdraw all foreign troops from German soil. The Soviet Union is ready to do this, thus complying with the security need in central Europe.

It might be worthwhile to try out the elimination of the military factor in Europe, the creation of a verifiable balance and the orientation toward a structural incapability to attack on the sand table.

Party Terms 'Unrealistic'

LD1902094390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1854 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The statement of FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg on the expansion of NATO to GDR territory is, in the opinion of the German Forum Party, a further indication that some leading circles have failed to recognize the chance that Gorbachev's policies offer to Germany and to Europe. The party notes this in a press statement sent to ADN.

"We consider this to be unrealistic since it runs counter to the Soviet security interests and cannot therefore be in the interests of GDR citizens," the statement reads.

Military Reform Discussed at Roundtable

LD2602175590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking about the outline of the planned military reform in the GDR to the roundtable in Berlin today, Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann stressed the readiness of members of the Armed Forces to take part in the democratization process. A number of queries and proposals marked the discussions of the representatives of parties and opposition movements.

But there is also some uncertainty among Army members, along with some social fears, the minister said. It is thus inadmissible for soldiers in basic training to be given notice in their jobs; it is against all law and justice. The Army of the people should not become an issue in the elections.

It was thanks to the responsible action of, above all, the professional soldiers that there were no serious disturbances and that none of the Army's own equipment or weapons, nor that of the former Office of National Security or the workers' militia, fell into unauthorized hands. These weapons should not become a potential for risk. The Army has to remain capable of living and functioning and must strengthen its ranks again.

Asked about the border troops, the minister said that in the future there will be a GDR border protection force responsible to the Interior Ministry. The transition process ought to be completed by the end of the year.

Army of Only 70,000

LD2602185190 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1700 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Excerpt] According to Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann, the GDR Defense Ministry is planning to turn the National People's Army [NVA] into a defense-oriented professional army with only 70,000 soldiers by the end of 1993. Speaking to the roundtable in East Berlin, Hoffmann stressed today that the precondition for this,

however, is further progress in the European disarmament negotiations. With the creation of a volunteer army, any military service for GDR citizens in peacetime would be dropped. The NVA currently has about 173,000 soldiers. [passage omitted]

Military Reform Adopted

LD2602201590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1903 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The highest principle of military policy in the GDR has to be "to do everything to preserve peace in Europe, to promote cooperation with all states, to overcome the system of military deterrence, and to achieve security in Europe together." This is noted in a roundtable 10-point position paper on military reform in the GDR, which was unanimously adopted on Monday evening [26 February] after intensive discussion.

The GDR favors the dissolution of the NATO and Warsaw Pact military bocs. As long as these continue to exist, the GDR will work with its partners in the Warsaw Pact, says the paper, which is to be passed on to the government. In it, military reform is said to be a part of the democratic changes in the GDR.

The roundtable rejects the statement contained in Paragraph 17 of the draft military service law, which says that soldiers are not allowed "to be members of political parties and organizations. Membership entered into prior to military service will be suspended for the period of service." Such a rule contravenes the principles of the current Constitution and the roundtable's concept of democracy.

Within the framework of the Armed Forces members' political education, representatives of all democratic parties and movements should have the opportunity to brief soldiers who so wish about their political aims. However, activity by the parties and political groupings in the Army is rejected. Support is given to activity by trade unions of soldiers and the civilian members of the National People's Army, of the Union of Professional Soldiers, and to other forms of democratic self-organization.

The paper says that by May 1990, the basic outlines of proposed disarmament should be presented to the People's Chamber. The roundtable adds that in the future the National Defense Ministry should be led by a civilian minister. The military reforms should contain ideas about the future "that are compatible with the process of European and German unification, as well as with its effects on the dissolution of the military pacts." Within the GDR Government, an Office for Disarmament and Conversion should be formed with the aim of preparing and initiating disarmament measures up to and including full demilitarization. The roundtable rejected any form of a federal army.

14th Session Ends

LD2602215590 East Berlin ADN in German 2112 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After the discussion of several individual proposals, the roundtable ended its 14th session in Berlin on Monday evening after almost 12 hours. The government and People's Chamber had earlier been called upon to accelerate work on the transformation of the legal form of the publicly owned enterprises.

At the 15th session on 5 March, there should be a decision on whether the roundtable, as agreed, will end its work before the People's Chamber elections or continue it until the new government has a constitution.

Imminent Disbandment of Stasi Announced

AU2602200590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 3

[ND-Funke report: "MfS (Office for State Security): "Sixty-eight percent dismissed"]

[Text] East Berlin—Sixty-eight percent of the formerly 33,121 staff in the headquarters of the Office for National Security had been dismissed by the beginning of this week. Another 600-700 secret service people are affected every day, which means that the disbandment will be concluded within a few days. This was stated by Guenter Eichhorn, head of the committee for the disbandment of the former office, to journalists in the office building in Normannenstrasse. He added that in Schwerin the disbandment was concluded and that it will soon be concluded in other areas.

More Details of Continued Stasi Work Noted

AU2602174290 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Feb 90 p 4

[Report by A. Moeller and H. Schulz: "A Total of 25,942 Stasi Moles Work in Berlin Alone"]

[Text] These figures were intended to reassure GDR citizens: The old Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] wolf, in the guise of the democratic Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], whispered into the ear of the GDR, tbe fearful Red Riding Hood, that 22,782 of the 33,000 staff members in the almighty Stasi castle [State Security] on Normannenstrasse have been dismissed.

This was only half of the truth: In Berlin alone, 25,942 Stasi agents continued their work. Spread over the entire city, there are still (at least) 66 holes from which the "Stasi" moles continue their work. These figures were released by members of the roundtable last weekend.

The Department AN, the internal intelligence service of the Ministry for State Security, is the most powerful one. A total of 3,674 staffers check the central decoding

service, secret government connections, and the radio centers. The agents have established themselves under 13 cover addresses.

A total of 1,705 agents are still undermining the churches and mass media.

The Stasi department telephone monitoring (A XXVI) continues to listen in to telephone conversations with 497 men. The agents even operate in the guise of firemen and have set up their quarters in the "Littenstrasse Fire Station."

The Department HA II, counterespionage with 2,545 agents, is particularly active. One of its secret buildings (cover name "Waldeslust") was discovered 60 km northeast of Berlin.

Citizens' Committee Briefing on Security Office

LD2602233990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2115 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of the citizens' committee for the dissolution of the headquarters of the former Office of National Security briefed the public on their work in the Normannenstrasse complex in Berlin today. According to committee spokeswoman Hannelore Koehler, the public should see close up and at first hand what the 90 members of the body are doing.

Another concern was to dispel worries arising from the fact that hundreds of former workers in this office come daily to the complex. However, they come only to receive their dismissal papers and to help with the dissolution. Cooperation between the citizens' committee and the "former workers" is very good, which cannot be said about the government's representatives. For example, through them various sites that belonged to the office have been simply handed over to other users, she said.

At present, the biggest job is processing all the written documents, which laid end to end would cover more than 100 km. About 4,000 meters have already been covered. Among the documents are also personal dossiers that contained, apart from voting decisions by citizens, also information about the sexual behavior of individuals. In reply to relevant questions, it was revealed that access has been granted mainly to the State Prosecutor's Office and to the courts in the course of investigations into applications. Otherwise the files are not open to access until a government democratically elected on 18 March decides on their destruction. This would prevent hysteria and a "witch hunt" of unofficial snoops who might be unmasked.

Reports of New Secret Services Denied

LD1902111590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1048 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There are no plans whatsoever for setting up new secret services in the GDR. The Internal Affairs Ministry has neither the intention to set up, nor are there preparations for the creation of, an office for the protection of the Constitution and a foreign intelligence service, the Press and Information Department of the Internal Affairs Ministry has told ADN.

The ministry was thus denying a claim by the FRG magazine QUICK and cited by DER MORGEN newspaper in its weekend edition, according to which GDR Internal Affairs Minister Ahrendt is planning to create two new secret services.

Existence of SED Cover Companies Denied

AU2302204390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 1

[Rainer Bekeschus report]

[Text] Schalck-Golodkowski has been talked about not only because of his criminal acts, but also "his" companies. The Art and Antiques GmbH will soon be completely dissolved. This was released at a news conference in Berlin on 20 February by Willi Lindemann, chairman of the government commission investigating the sphere of commercial coordination. [passage omitted]

The overall value of the cultural goods that are stored in Muehlenbeck near Berlin has been set at 37 million marks. Karl- Heinz Gersenberger, provisional head of commercial coordination, believes that about 10 percent has been provided for state art trade or for museums. There are no more exports to other countries. There are permanent checks of the export stop, which was imposed on 22 November 1989. [passage omitted]

Lindemann also denied the existence of alleged cover enterprises of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] abroad.

Former SED Leader Accused of Electoral Fraud

LD2302215190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1709 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—The current inquiries against the former leader of Gera Area Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader Herbert Ziegenhann have been extended to incitement to electoral fraud. As Birgit Wolf, press spokeswoman for the Area State Prosecutor's Office, told ADN today, he is strongly suspected of having expressly demanded from the then-chairman of the government, Werner Ullrich, not exceed a very low number of "no" votes for the Gera Area.

On the basis of this result of the inquiries, the suspicion of crime is removed from the accused Ullrich and thus the only reason for custody on the same charge. Following the principles of the state based on the rule of law, he has been released from investigative custody. The inquiries against him are being continued.

State Prosecutor on Report of Honecker Account

LD2602192190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The latest report from the news magazine DER SPIEGEL about an account with the Deutsche Handelsbank AG in Berlin that was allegedly accessible only to Erich Honecker, does not square with the present state of the investigation. According to the press office of the GDR state prosecutor general on Monday, the account was operated by the former department of commercial coordination, and only its head and his deputy were authorized to sign.

Honecker had reserved for himself the decision in each case on the use to which the money would be put, which included, among other things, securing the GDR balance of payments. Honecker's authority to decide in connection with this was incompatible with both his position under constitutional law and also with his departmental authority. The actual origin of the money in this account was unknown to the Deutsche Handelsbank AG and its employees.

The GDR state prosecutor general's application for an arrest warrant against Erich Honecker had initially contained the accusation that the former head of state and party had last year alone paid 75 million Deutsche marks, which Bonn had paid for the release of political detainees in the GDR, into an account with the Deutsche Handelsbank in Berlin to which he had sole access. In its article, the FRG news magazine DER SPIEGEL had reported only this fact.

* Treatment of Honecker, Old Leaders Protested

90EG0180B East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 90 p 2

["Open Letter" from Baerbel Bohley and Katja Havemann to Gregor Gysi: "Is This The New Justice?"—first paragraph is NEUES DEUTSCHLAND introduction.]

[Text] The following open letter to PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi was submitted to the editors of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND with the request that it be published.

Dear Gregor Gysi:

We are appealing to you because you have become the chairman of the party that for many years had declared wrong to be right. It has given itself another name, but has it really changed? Has right really become right? Have the inhuman mechanisms of supression and isolation of this party and in our country really given way to a humane coexistence?

We fear that we in the GDR have apparently not succeeded in breaking the cycle of injustice. The arrest of the ailing Honecker is a scandal. And yet we are very well aware of how Honecker treated Serafim, his former prison guard, who had saved his life after his escape from an outside work detail: He coldly had him executed. The entire Stalinist system of of justice in the GDR must now be revised and that cannot succeed if revenge is once again taken in the old, inhuman ways against those who, as the scapegoats for our past years, have been declared to be "fair game"—probably at the behest of the old public prosecutors.

Once again people are put in jail before their guilt has been proven while others—Schnitzler, Wolf, and other Stasi [former GDR State Security Service] generals, for example—run around free, publicly making a big deal of their memoirs and revelations.

Is this the new justice?

We want equal justice for all. Those who are guilty must be punished, but their guilt must be proven. We want the law to be administered by an independent judicial system.

Only to such a judicial system does Margot Honecker have to answer—and not to a political inquisition of an old or new party.

In the hope that your lawyer-heart will be touched, we appeal to you to look into what is happening to the seriously ill Wolfgang Junker. His family fears that he will suffer a mental and physical breakdown if he is not released from detention. We cite you some facts provided by his daughters:

—He was arrested in spite of his medically certified grave illness;

—The legal appeal against his incarceration was not considered; and

—Although Wolfgang Junker was probably transferred from Rummelsburg to the hospital ward at the Hohenschoenhausen detention facility, his daughters are receiving no word about his condition or medical care.

Mr Gysi: We feel that the justified anger of the people at the old leadership must not mislead those who now have responsibility into committing new injustice. Before Amnesty International has to concern itself with the former minister for the construction industry, you should support his release so that finally, in this instance too, the applicable law is upheld.

We appeal to you for this—in the sense of damage control for our future as well.

The history of the Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp must not be repeated in Hohenschoenhausen. Not only were the old Nazis incarcerated there after 1945, but also persons who acted out of conviction, as well as the political prisoners of the new power. None of us can be exonerated of his shared responsibility for the past years—not even if he puts others in jail.

Plauen Citizens Call for Solidarity in Campaign

LD2402205290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2020 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Plauen (ADN)—At their weekly demonstration through the center of Plauen today, about 8,000 local citizens have called for solidarity and not hostility during the election campaign. The impressive solidarity with which the demonstrations in Plauen and throughout the country began must not be lost. Speakers stressed that local political topics must be made a subject for the run-up to the elections. In addition, only a high turnout at the elections would ensure a stable representation of the interests of the citizens in the new People's Chamber.

Farmers Demonstrate in Schwerin

LD2402121290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1124 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Schwerin (ADN)—Farmers of the Mecklenburg area demonstrated for socially secure conditions and justice in Schwerin today. At a rally staged by the Peasant's Mutual Aid Association (VdgB) and the DBD [Democratic Peasant Party], they called for recognition of the land reform and protection of cooperative property. [passage omitted]

DBD Chairman Guenther Maleuda said that farmers should have a big say in the destiny of the people. They needed a political representation that adopts their interests. The DBD addressed the problems of farmers in its program for the elections on 18 March. It supports a healthy environment. Maleuda spoke in support of a united Germany, although unification must not become a path to humiliation for the GDR. It is not only a taker in this process, but also a giver.

The spokesman for the VdgB said that the latter will see to it that agriculture and the village, as well as the associated area, do not become relegated to the fringes.

10,000 Attend Weekly Leipzig Demonstration

LD2602211990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1810 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—During the traditional Monday demonstration in Leipzig, several speakers expounded on their parties' election programs. Approximately 10,000 local people gathered in Karl Marx Square. Earlier, Pastor Alfred Kocab from the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethen in Prague held the peace prayer in the Nikolaikirche. He is a Charter-77 signatory.

Modrow Heads Neubrandenburg PDS List

LD2602233190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2007 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—Hans Modrow, leading PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] candidate for the People's Chamber elections, takes first place on the list in Neubrandenburg Area. An area representatives' conference, consisting of 221 democratically elected members of all PDS district executives, of the Area Executive, of party congress delegates, and members who are standing for the People's Chamber, voted unanimously this evening in a secret ballot for the currently most popular GDR politician. After accepting the candidacy at the First PDS Congress during the weekend, Hans Modrow expressed the desire to run for election in his old home, i.e., in the Neubrandenburg constituency.

Gysi Discusses PDS Policies, Objectives

AU2602205590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi by Frank Herold "before the election congress" in Berlin; date not given: "Unique in the History of Parties"]

[Text] [Herold] Why is the chairman so sure that today, 24 February, a congress of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] and not the 12th or 13th congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will start?

[Gysi] Since the extraordinary party congress there have been so many changes within and around this party that a new party has been clearly established. The membership structures are completely changed. For example, the quota of women has considerably increased, the younger members play a far greater role. The grass-roots democracy has been considerably developed. We will get a new statute and a new program. The old SED's autocracy has been eliminated, and there is no longer a monopoly on power in any sphere. We parted with property and money on a large scale. In short, changes that are quite unique in the history of parties in Germany have taken place here within a few weeks.

[Herold] The number of members has dramatically decreased, the acceptance of the PDS by parts of the population seems to be questionable. A deaf ear is even turned to good arguments. How does the PDS plan to get back on its feet?

[Gysi] It is correct that the number of members has dramatically decreased, but it is still high. I believe that, compared to the number of adults in our population, the former number of more than 2 million members was far too high. The number of members simply had to decrease because this party no longer has the monopoly on power and does not rule autocratically. It is no longer necessary to be a member of this party to maintain a function. On the contrary, today it is far more difficult and requires much idealism to remain or become a member of the PDS because it is exposed to special attacks. By the way, this is also why this party is a new one today, because its members are very courageous and have ideals. We will only be more accepted by the people if we credibly submit our political offers and effectively represent the citizens' interests on the future social

development and the process of getting closer to the FRG. This is the point where people will again listen to us.

[Herold] The PDS talks, above all, about preserving values and positive aspects. Is the PDS a conservative party? Does it foment fears of the future to bait voters?

[Gysi] Our citizens' fears of the future really exist, nobody needs to foment them. Therefore, it is important to find answers to the citizens' questions. No, we are not a conservative party if the obstruction of progress is meant by this. On the contrary, we advocate an even more radical democratization of the social and economic conditions. We are only conservative in our opposition to a reduction of the social network, for example, and to the denial of the GDR's history and the achievements of its citizens.

[Herold] What experiences have you gained from the talks with the citizens? Will the concept of democratic socialism still be a suitable policy after 18 March?

[Gysi] This concept will be a suitable policy as long as followers profess it and struggle for it. Moreover, this concept is also necessary because not only Stalinist socialism but also capitalism proved to be incapable of solving mankind's basic questions. By this I mean questions of social justice, peace, disarmament, ecology, and a new international economic order that puts an end to the exploitation of the so-called Third World.

PDS Presidium Discusses Reduction of Subsidies

AU2602182190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[ND report: "Party of Democratic Socialism Presidium: Reduction of Subsidies Only After Dialogue With Population"]

[Text] East Berlin—The reduction of subsidies was at the center of discussions by the Presidium of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] on 22 February. In its election program, the PDS has called for compensation for individual persons, such as families with many children, single parents, veterans, pensioners, and old people, as well as for the handicapped, in case subsidies are reduced. This also applies particularly to the reduction of subsidies in the sphere of foodstuffs adopted by the roundtable.

It is extremely complicated to find a socially just solution to this issue, which requires careful preparation and a democratic process toward a decision, the Presidium of the PDS Executive stated. This must include the broad discussion of the issue among the population. The PDS rejects hasty measures. It recommends that the government and the People's Chamber present various possibilities to the public that take into consideration the economic requirements and the social importance of the issue so that they can be discussed in a broad democratic dialogue. Particularly where social interests are involved, one should discuss things thoroughly before making a decision, the PDS Presidium stressed.

Political TV Program Presents CDU Policies

LD2702044690

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 26 February carries a Christian Democratic Union [CDU] political program called "With the CDU Into a Thriving Future." The presenter welcomes the participants: Dr. (Sabine Feldmann-Puhl), medical director of the Berlin Area authority for lung diseases and tuberculosis; (Gisela Schwurrat), deputy chairwoman of the CDU's Berlin regional association; and Martin Kirchner, the CDU general secretary.

The presenter addresses Martin Kirchner first, saying that the election campaign has become rather abusive, and the CDU appears ready to go along with this. On 25 February, he was given a leaflet with the words "For Nazis, Stasis, and Sozis—a one-way ticket to the Sahara Desert; for love of Germany vote CDU, DA [Democratic Awakening], DSU [German Social Union]—secure, social, free," and he asks if this is the style of the new CDU. Kirchner replies that what has just been quoted most certainly did not come from the the CDU. Over the past few days, they had frequently noted such misrepresentations, which are attempts to portray the CDU as an extremist party. The CDU wants a fair election campaign. It is in favor of a Germany within the 1990 borders, and anything else is misrepresentation, he says.

Asked how the CDU differs from other parties because all of them want a social market economy, (Feldmann-Puhl) says that the CDU is best equipped to carry through a market economy and implement a successful economic policy with social security. The presenter points out that it was a CDU minister who had questioned such things as school meals. (Feldmann-Puhl) assures that the CDU wants to keep the kindergarten and creches, and also school meals. Fears are being stoked up that after 18 March there will be social chaos in the GDR, but if the CDU has a voice, then this will certainly not happen, she says.

Kirchner is asked if, under the conditions of a relatively rapid unification process, it will be at all possible to implement the issue of social security in the GDR. Has this been agreed with the future partners? Kirchner replies: "We are for the quickest possible unity of Germany, but we also want this to take place in an orderly fashion. The prime condition for this is that the social conditions, which have been different in this country from those in the Federal Republic for 40 years, can be brought into line with the conditions in the Federal Republic. This means, first of all, that an efficient industry must be set up, that here a middle class finds its feet so that jobs are secure and that also a strong social state comes into being that can set up a strong social welfare system."

Turning to (Schwurrat), the presenter asks if the recently formed CDU Women's Union is meant to allow CDU wives to dabble a little in politics while the men pursue politics on a large scale. Not so, she says. They want, particularly at this moment, to preserve women's self-esteem. Women do not want to be banished back to the cooking pot; they want to be partners in the future society and in the state, because all future questions must be solved together, she says. (Feldmann-Puhl) interjects to add that now women should be able to stay at home and bring up their children should they wish to, and the CDU intends to fight for a grant to pay for the years when the mother is at home and for this period to count toward their pension.

The presenter says that people are increasingly worried about social security and there is also the question of the ownership of land. Under the land reform after 1945, farmers in the GDR were given land that they were able to take with them into cooperatives.

He asks Kirchner what the CDU's position is with regard to the question of property. Kirchner replies: "I would like, first of all, to say that these fears are being exploited for political reasons by certain parties and that the CDU is resolutely opposed to playing on emotions in politics and in this way putting people in a state of uncertainty and fear. Of course, the questions that are raised are justified, because they are connected with our history and with the fact that we shall have to undertake a number of changes to the present regulations in view of a reunification of Germany. This will be one of the most important questions—the bringing into line of the legal conditions that have arisen here with the legal conditions in the Federal Republic. There must, therefore, be a phase of adaptation, of transition. One cannot go abruptly from this system to another one. As far as the land reform and its results are concerned, we will take this seriously, ownership and the concept of ownership, and indeed in a twofold sense; on the one hand that, as a result of the land reform, new owners and new property relations came into being, and on the other that, of course, also as a result of the land reform, people were expropriated who, for example, have remained here in the GDR and have not received compensation in the Federal Republic. It will of course be up to a new, united Germany to see that justice is done to both."

After the presenter has noted that the question of the land reform is relatively simple because it was carried out by a state under the rule of law and there was a referendum, he inquires about those who lost their property, either because of the so-called fleeing from the republic or through other measures. The plots of land and houses have now passed into the legal ownership of the new owners or been bought from the state. He asks, must they now fear that the former owners will come and make their claims and that they will be practically driven out?

Kirchner says that his remarks about the land reform apply here too. Taking the concept of ownership seriously means also in this case the rights of the former owners and also the acquired rights of GDR citizens must also be taken seriously, but this is not the place to anticipate how a basic settlement will look, he says. He envisions individual solutions on the basis of general legislation. Asked if there have been talks on this with the FRG CDU, Kirchner notes that such talks are in progress.

The presenter asks (Feldmann-Puhl) if mass unemployment is looming. Fears are being stoked up with regard to this, she says, but the market economy will produce a boom. Of course, some will have to be retrained, and factories with poor conditions will be replaced by new ones, but this is no reason to be worrried, she concludes.

The presenter asks all participants if there are estimates of the number of new companies that will be founded in the next six months. Kirchner says that there is in fact a specific number calculated on the basis of talks between the federal chancellor and various entrepreneurs and their associations, and that some 3,000 new projects have been signed and sealed that will create jobs in the short and medium-term that will be safe, ecologically sound, and well paid.

De Maiziere Discusses Elections, Unity

AU2502151190 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Interview with Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere by Guenter Muechler; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Muechler] Mr. de Maiziere, three weeks prior to the elections, we could think that it is not the People's Chamber but the Bundestag that will be elected on 18 March. How do you and your colleagues of the other GDR parties manage to sail so clearly in the wake of prominent politicians from Bonn?

[De Maiziere] To begin with, let me say that these are, of course, People's Chamber elections. In addition, I would not say that we are clearly sailing in the wake of Bonn politicians. The issues are still GDR topics, and that is the decisive thing. The issues are about the way we are shaping our future in this country, building a functioning economy, developing a body politic that is respected and supported by the citizens, and forming a functioning government that will then tackle the difficult tasks, including measures that the caretaker government has not been able to deal with.

So there are very many problems that concern the people in our country. These problems also include, of course, the crucial question as to how German unity may be achieved while ensuring that the interests of our people are fully met. It will be important for us to find answers to all these questions, answers that convince the people who go voting here.

Of course, the German question, the issue of unity, and our problems have also become issues of the Bundestag election campaign. This election campaign is partly taking place on our territory. That is not always helpful. I personally would have preferred not to see the next Bundestag elections take place on 2 December 1990, but on 2 December 1991 or 1992. The year does not really matter; I only want to describe the situation.

Early in December, we all were so naive to believe that by holding our elections prior to the summer recess, we would be able to keep them out of the Bundestag election campaign. Naivete is sometimes punished.

[Muechler] Mr. de Maiziere, you are chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR, which forms part of the Alliance for Germany. Do you think that you or the Alliance has a chance?

[De Maiziere] I am sure that the Alliance will be one of the two strong forces. The Social Democratic Party [SPD] will certainly be the other one. Those who have followed the speed of developments and opinions in the GDR will probably agree that nothing has been decided three weeks prior to the elections.

[Muechler] The SPD is apparently being considered the favorite in these elections. By what goals and promises do you plan to make the electorate vote for the Alliance?

[De Maiziere] Regarding the issue of the favorite—opinion polls have no tradition in the GDR, nor are there any well-tried screens or surveys of the population by which such opinion polls could be reliably carried out. So I have considerable doubts in this respect. However, the SPD undoubtedly has a strong clientele.

We are entering the election campaign with goals, not promises. We have said quite clearly that we want a social market economy; that we are striving for unity as soon as possible and in the necessary reasonable way; that we advocate a free and democratic state ruled by law; and that in connection with a social market economy, we stress the social aspect of this economic system.

You could say that this is also the SPD's goal. However, the real inventor of the social market economy is not a figure of the SPD, but Ludwig Erhard of the CDU.

[Muechler] So you do not trust the SPD's statements in favor of a social market economy.

[De Maiziere] No, I don't. [passage omitted]

[Muechler] Ibrahim Boehme of the Social Democrats has said that he is ready to enter into a coalition, even if the SPD were to emerge as the strongest party in the elections. Will you also be ready to form a coalition, and which party or parties do you rule out as a coalition partner?

[De Maiziere] To begin with, let me say a word on Mr. Boehme's statement. He did not say with whom he would form a coalition. In addition, a party can be the strongest one without having gained 50 percent. Then you just have to form a coalition. We also are ready to enter into a coalition; however, we will not make a statement on our future coalition partner before 19 March.

[Muechler] Whom do you rule out?

[De Maiziere] The party executive board made a decision in this respect—the Party of Democratic Socialism.

[Muechler] Following the elections on 18 March, the GDR will have a government that will have been legitimized by the people for the first time. However, that does not solve the problems. What tasks must be given priority by the future government, no matter who it is composed of?

[De Maiziere] To begin with, it is correct that the people should not expect the elections to work wonders. [passage omitted] I think the most important thing will be to take all the necessary legislative measures to introduce a social market economy. [passage omitted] We will have to form all-German commissions very soon to make preparations for unification.

I think that a number of transition and harmonization arrangements will be required, even if we reach monetary union very soon, which basically amounts to economic union. Such a monetary and economic union must be accompanied by social union. Because of the social aspect, we must create harmonization and transition regulations to prevent the socially weaker GDR citizens from the lower income groups being disadvantaged on a market that will then be much freer. [passage omitted]

[Muechler] How will those West German citizens be treated who have property in the GDR and are entered in a land register somewhere; or what will happen to the tenants who are now concerned about their home?

[De Maiziere] That is a question that cannot be answered in a sentence, because there are very different forms of property. [passage omitted]

[Muechler] Mr. de Maiziere, what specifically do you expect of the Federal Government following 18 March? What must be done by Bonn?

[De Maiziere] I think that measures to bring about monetary, economic, and social union will be the most urgent things that Bonn will have to carry out. Regarding the term, social union, there will be many negotiations about pension claims, insurance claims; savings are only part of the package that will have to resolved. Every GDR citizen or every other GDR citizen has concluded a life insurance contract that is essentially also a form of savings. Then there is the problem of contributions to the pension scheme.

[Muechler] In this respect, do you expect the Federal Republic to make sacrifices?

[De Maiziere] I think sacrifices will be necessary. Regarding unification, the problem is whether a new constitution should be formulated, or whether the basic law should be taken over in its entirely or in part. Somebody talked about revenue equalization in connection with unification. Once Thuringia, Saxony, and Brandenburg are lander, the problem of revenue equalization will have to be solved. We have good experiences in this area in connection with the Evangelical Church. [passage omitted]

[Muechler] The bandwagon is moving in the direction of unity. You said that you want to achieve the unification of the two states. According to your scenario, there would be two constitutions. Either the one or the other would have to be taken over, or a constituent assembly would have to be set up. That will take time.

[De Maiziere] I think that the two constitutions are highly compatible. We only wanted to bring them into the discussion. I think arrangements must be made allowing us to immediately put the basic law into force, if we were to choose this way.

[Muechler] What do you think about Article 23, for instance?

[De Maiziere] This article says that certain lander have adopted the basic law. Accession of other lander to the basic law is possible. The basic law must be put into force in these lander. I am concerned that the harmonization process I mentioned would then not be possible. I think that this must be ruled out. The social and economic difference is so huge—with the ratio being about 100 to 40—that protective measures must be taken if we do not want the people of this country to be disadvantaged. I do not at all want there to be people who say that they now have to pay a second time.

[Muechler] Mr. de Maiziere, a last question with the request for a brief answer. Do you consider it conceivable and desirable that an all-German parliament will be elected on 2 December, when Bundestag elections will be held?

[De Maiziere] If the government to be elected on 18 March succeeds in taking the necessary steps, which we were trying to discuss here, I think this is conceivable. However, I think we should be careful with prognoses. If you had asked me in November or December, I would have said that this is absolutely impossible. We can try to describe the matter and the way, but I do not think anyone could reliably define the time frame at this time.

'Alliance 90' Presents Joint Election Program

AU2302133690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[ND report: "Joint Election Program 'Alliance 90' Presented"]

[Text] East Berlin—On 16 February, "Alliance 90" presented its joint election program at its first news conference, which is now to be held on a weekly basis, in the Berlin House of Democracy. The leading representatives of the citizens movements New Forum, the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, and Democracy Now—including even those who are ministers—made it clear that this group considers itself an "alliance of citizens for citizens." One stands "outside the imported party triangle" and regards oneself as the "center of the opposition that has developed in the GDR."

Asked about possible coalition partners following the 18 March elections, the alliance did not want to commit itself. However, the representatives of the three citizens movements or parties that were present excluded a coalition with the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] or with the Alliance for Germany even at this stage.

"Alliance 90" advocates a social and ecological market economy. Concerning the unification of the two German states, the mere annexation of the GDR in line with Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law is rejected. On the other hand, one does not generally reject the unification of the two states; yet "not as quickly as possible, but as well as possible."

Holds Election Rally

LD2302211990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2024 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Schwerin (ADN)—"Alliance-90" this evening kicked off its election campaign with a large rally at the Schwerin Sports and Congress Hall. It comprises New Forum, Democracy Now, and the Peace and Human Rights Initiative. The alliance is a coalition of citizens' movements that are not linked to political parties, who prepared the scrapping of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany dictatorship and set to work together with the people of the country, it was said at the news conference beforehand. It sees itself as the representation of citizens' political interests by citizens.

Leading candidate Professor Jens Reich stressed, "We must be there when a new, democratic parliament is elected." This is not a matter of power but of taking on

responsibility and making both constructive and critical contributions. The speaker advised participants in the rally to listen exactly to what the individual parties are saying before the elections. He recommended: "Ask who is to pay for it all. Be cautious like the Mecklenburg countryman and ask whether that will still all be true in April's weather."

In a policy document, the alliance speaks in favor of a market economy that is committed socially and economically and in which the employees' interests and those of society as a whole are asserted. It wants to fashion the change to a market economy in such a way that social conditions are not disrupted. [passage omitted]

The rally also received a letter from FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker. In this he expressed his admiration to the forces united in "Alliance-90" for the fact that they won freedom in a nonviolent manner.

Alliance for Germany Leaders on Unity

AU2602140390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Only One Reasonable Way: From the Statement of the Alliance for Germany"]

[Text] After talks with the chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in Erfurt on 20 February, the chairmen of the parties united in the Alliance for Germany, Wolfgang Schnur (Democratic Awakening), Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling (German Social Union), and Lothar de Maiziere (CDU), stated the following among other things:

"The goal of the Alliance for Germany is to remove socialism in the GDR in whatever form on 18 March [election day]. In view of the dramatic decline of the economy, the environment, and in other social spheres in the GDR, there is only one reasonable way that can lead to a political, economic, and moral improvement of the GDR: The introduction of social market economy in the GDR and the quick restoration of German unity."

The statement also pays tribute to Chancellor Kohl's support for German unity. "Thus, the Alliance for Germany resolutely rejects the unjustified allegations that are leveled against Helmut Kohl by the Party of Democratic Socialism and the Social Democratic Party. Part of the immediate aid worth 5 billion marks to be granted by the FRG Government is blocked because the Modrow government has not clearly abandoned socialism so far.

"Instead of determined steps toward an economic reform, the government has only carried out half-hearted measures and cosmetic corrections of socialism.

"The GDR does not need presents in the form of millions of marks now. What it needs is the introduction of the social market economy.

"The Alliance welcomes the offer for a monetary union submitted by Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The introduction of the Deutsche mark, one of the most solid and most stable currencies in the world, is the strongest economic credit item that the FRG can offer.

"In contrast to the ruling Modrow government, the Alliance for Germany will immediately accept the chancellor's offer after a change of government. Together with the FRG, the Alliance for Germany will make efforts to establish a social community after 18 March.

"The primary task of the social community is to ensure the pensions, the savings deposits, as well as benefits in the case of unemployment.

"The partnership between the Alliance for Germany and the FRG's CDU headed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl has already proven successful. Our trusting cooperation will unfold its full potential after the elections on 18 March when the Alliance for Germany will assume power because the Alliance for Germany pursues the same policy that the CDU in the FRG has been pursuing with great success for 40 years."

Rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt

LD2602225890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—"Freedom instead of socialism" was the slogan of an election rally of the "Alliance for Germany" (DSU [German Social Union], CDU [Christian Democratic Union], and DA [Democratic Awakening]) this evening in Karl-Marx-Stadt. In front of about 2,000 residents, DSU Area Chairman Karsten Degner said that socialism is dead. By voting for the Alliance for Germany on 18 March, the voters have the opportunity to make an unqualified commitment to the social market economy and to a swift unification of the two German states. [passage omitted]

* NDPD Convention Approves Election Platform

90EG0180A East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Feb 90 p 4

["Election Program" approved by the National Democratic Party of Germany convention]

[Text]

Election Program: The NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] and Its Responsibility for Our Country

We are a party:

—In the humanistic as well as middle class-democratic tradition of the German people;
—Of the political center—a people's party committed especially to the interests of the middle class;
—For a new definition and the preservation of our national identity [as published], and rooted in the totality of German history;
—For the unity of Germany;
—For the ideal of the free individuality of every person;

—Of an anti-fascist and anti-Stalinist fundamental political viewpoint;
—We emphatically disassociate ourselves from the PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] as well as from radicalism of the left and the right.

Democratic and Future-Oriented—The NDPD
The Way to German Unity

The NDPD, as the originator of the idea of confederation, is for:

—A national policy that is embedded in the European process of unification and disarmament;
—The creation of an economic and currency union with the FRG as well as membership in the EC;
—Comprehensive disarmament measures within the framework of the CSCE process;
—Restoration of the Land structure and the formation of an all-German Chamber of Laender;
—Confederation and a referendum on the temporal and substantive aspects of German unity;
—All-German elections for a legislative assembly;
—Elections for an all-German parliament and the proclamation of a German Republic;
—Conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of all foreign military forces from German soil; and
—Initiatives for the dissolution of both military blocs and the creation of a pan-European security system.

For Social Justice

By this we mean:

—Safeguarding the interests of working people through free trade unions;
—Creation of a law regarding trade unions and enterprises as an integral part of the constitution;
—Social security through vocational retraining and unemployment assistance;
—Protection of pensioners through guaranteed old age benefits with progressive benefit adjustments;
—Security for the handicapped and their integration into society;
—Protection of the family;
—Real equality of women in the family and in the professions;
—Security and a future for our children and a child-oriented policy by ensuring equal educational opportunities and promoting preparedness to function according to the performance principle; and
—Fairness of taxation through the creation of a uniform income tax legal code for salaried employees, master craftsmen, engineers, and persons employed in the health and social services sector proportionate to the taxation of workers in the production sector.

For Efficient Health and Social Services

We regard a person's health to be the greatest good. We advocate:

—The unity of environment, health, and the economy;
—The unlimited availability of medical care and social welfare services to all citizens;
—A higher priority on care for the handicapped, chronically ill, and older citizens;
—Vigorous steps to improve material-technical conditions in the interests of medical care for all and the facilitation of the work of medical personnel;
—Greater social appreciation and material recognition of persons employed in the health and social services sector;
—Equal status for all health and social services facilities;
—Private initiative in health and social services, sports, and leisure time activities; and
—Well-balanced promotion of leisure, popular, and competitive sports.

For Humanism and Human Dignity

By this we mean:

—Freedom for citizens of majority age;
—The consistent implementation of all human rights;
—An open and free intellectual life and tolerance of diverse views;
—Respect for humanistic and religious creeds and the right to practice them; and
—A relationship of trust between state and church.

For Democracy

By this we mean:

—Equal opportunity for all citizens in their professions and in society;
—Political pluralism and opposition as a monitoring mechanism;
—Public disclosure and public monitoring of all state matters;
—Equality of all democratic forces;
—The formation of specific interest groups, associations, and alliances; and
—Independent media without censorship.

For Constitutional Government and Security Under Law

By this we mean:

—The division of governmental powers and an independent judiciary;
—Freely elected legislatures;
—The referendum as the expression of the true will of the people;
—Thorough measures against violence, terrorism, and radicalism of the left and the right;
—No defamation of, intolerance towards, or isolation of citizens;
—A police force that serves the needs of the people for protection;
—National Armed Forces that are not offensively capable; and
—Decisive legal measures and international arrangements to combat the misuse of open borders.

We demand the abolition of the Council of State and the election of a president.

For the Creation of an Effective Municipal Policy

By this we mean:

—Administrative reform with the restoration of the Land structures;
—Strengthening of the inherent responsibilities and the economic bases of the municipalities;
—Reduction of bureaucracy and administrative costs; and
—Formation of a professional civil service.

For a Radical Economic Reform

By this we mean:

—A market economy that is socially and ecologically oriented;
—The creation of basic national economic conditions that proceed from considerations of fundamental social requirements;
—The equality of economic undertakings with all forms of ownership, and a purposeful promotion of entrepreneurial initiatives;
—Conversion of VEB's [State Enterprises] into state enterprises under legislative supervision and with codetermination by the workers;
—Consistent implementation of the productivity principle;
—Enhancing the status of the quality workman, the master craftsman, and the engineer to revive quality German workmanship;
—Full participation in the international division of labor; and
—A monetary union and an economic community with the FRG while guaranteeing savings deposits.

For the Free Development of the Crafts, Trades, and Commerce

By this we mean:

—A crafts and trades legal code to ensure an equitable price, wage, tax, and credit policy;
—A free organizational structure of the crafts and trades;
—Guaranteed freedom of commerce and the private acquisition of commercial establishments, restaurants, hotels, and service enterprises;
—Reform of wholesale trade;
—Safeguarding the independence and self-administration of cooperatives.

For Greater Attention to the Agricultural Profession

—Thorough modernization of the material-technical basis of the agricultural, forestry, and food processing industry;
—Equality of opportunity for all forms of ownership;
—An eventual, phased-in amalgamation of plant and animal production;
—Creation of an agricultural equipment and feed market; and
—An increase in the quality of life in the villages.

We demand an agriculture that is economically efficient, ecologically responsible, and humane to animals.

For Ecological Safety

By this we mean:

—Ensuring ecological effectiveness exclusively on the basis of ecological safety and the social interests of the populace within the national and international framework;
—Protection and preservation of our natural riches;
—New legislation in the area of environmental protection, nature conservation, and land use, and strict monitoring of adherence to the laws by a ministry of the environment;
—Severe penalties for offenses against environmental protection regulations on the basis of an environmental protection penal code; and
—Environmental protection and ecology as elements of education and training.

The NDPD demands a future-oriented and environmentally sound energy plan!

For the Free Development of Science and Education

By this we mean:

—Equal educational opportunities for all;
—Freedom of science, theory, research, and education;
—Respect for science and the scientist;
—New forms of education and assistance for school children, university students, and young scientists;
—Respect for, and the free development of, teachers and educators;
—Resumption of the progressive traditions of German education; and
—Adequate education in the schools with every opportunity for the encouragement of the gifted, for specialization, and for the formation of elites [as published].

For the Free Development of Culture and Art

By this we mean:

—The preservation and enrichment of our humanistic culture as an aspect of our national identity and providing for its material security by the state as well as by public and private interest groups;
—Comprehensive urban renewal and care and preservation of monuments and art works;
—Maintenance and protection of the German and Sorbian linguistic and cultural assets;
—Complete freedom for humanistic, artistic creativity;
—The preservation and encouragment of traditional folk culture;
—Extensive cultural exchanges; and
—No sellout of our cultural assets.

**Dear Voters: Whoever identifies with our goals for a democratic renewal of the country out of a sense of responsibility for the nation will give us his vote!
So that things will finally be better for all of us!
FOR THE NDPD!**

Executive Committee Meets

AU2302125690 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Large Election Rally in the Congress Hall on Sunday"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—The Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] met for the first time on 19 February at the party's headquarters in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The body elected by the 14th NDPD Congress, which includes 61 members, constituted itself, elected a Presidium, and confirmed the 99 NDPD candidates for the elections to the People's Chamber on 18 March. They were nominated at joint meetings of the party's area leaderships and delegates of the 14th NDPD Congress. The Presidium of the NDPD Executive Committee was instructed in accordance with Section 11, subsection 4 of the electoral law to submit the election proposals to the competent electoral commission of the corresponding constituencies.

The Presidium of the NDPD Executive Committee includes: Chairman Wolfgang Rauls, Deputy Chairmen Dr. Klaus-Christian Fischer and Uwe Lassen, Executive Secretary Dr. Eberhard Stief, Treasurer Wolfram Johannes, and Dr. Gunter Halm, Andreas Penk, Dr. Ulrike Rommel, and Ralph-Rainer Guenther. [passage omitted]

Chairman on Party Program

AU2202123890 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Wolfgang Rauls, National Democratic Party of Germany chairman, by Oliver Michalsky; place and date not given: "The Middle Classes Are a Decisive Voter Potential for Us"]

[Text] East Berlin—The first constituent meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] took place on 19 February. After the election of the Executive Committee Presidium, a BERLINER ALLGEMEINE journalist conducted the following interview with NDPD Chairman Wolfgang Rauls.

[Michalsky] You met for the first time with the leadership of your party. What was it like?

[Rauls] For the majority of us—including myself—it is a new experience to assume and share responsibility in the party's highest leading body; responsibility for what makes the NDPD indispensable and even necessary from a social perspective for the development of the process of unification of the two German states, now and in the near future. Thus, each of us is facing a historic challenge—this is indeed no exaggeration. We must bear this in mind because there are still four weeks to go until the first great test, as represented by the elections to the People's Chamber.

[Michalsky] The liberals recently rejected an election alliance with your party....

[Rauls, interrupting] Well, we believe that in the interest of important sections of the electorate, the GDR needs a broad democratic force at the political center with a national and liberal touch, either within an election alliance or within the real struggle of forces during the election campaign. At the party congress we stated: No matter whether we join an election alliance or whether we run on our own, we will base our election campaign on our pledges and our party program.

As a matter of fact, we have a good program. The national element alone demonstrates this: It is based on tradition, understanding of history, and political farsightedness. This is the basis for our determination and our justified optimism. Our program and the party's new image are attractive for the voters.

[Michalsky] Where do you see the decisive voter potential for your party?

[Rauls] Our party has its standing leg—if I may use this graphic expression—in the middle classes, a significant section of our population that has grown nationally and exists in our society. The middle classes represent a decisive voter potential for us. Speaking of voters, one should mention that we should also address certain groups of voters in a purposeful and concentrated manner who are still looking for a party that best represents their interest in the run-up to the elections.

[Michalsky] What groups?

[Rauls] I think we should address the socially weak, pensioners, the sick and handicapped, single women with children, young people who support primarily petit-bourgeois and democratic principles, artists and cultural workers who hold views similar to our national ideas, and even members of the National People's Army, particularly from the ranks of professional officers.

[Michalsky] What preconditions have been created in the past few days to make the NDPD capable of acting in the coming weeks?

[Rauls] These preconditions include the positive initiatives by nearly all area organizations to form organizations on the basis of the former laender. This was stipulated in our election program for the future of Germany with a view to a future laender structure in the GDR, and our party will act in accordance with this. By being active in this sphere, we also create the party's political and structural preconditions for possible party or election alliances at a later date, and we also advocate

the laender structure because this will be unavoidable in the unification process of the two German states.

KPD Conferences Discuss Election Strategy

LD1902094890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder (ADN)—The approximately 100 delegates at the three-day conference on the strategy of the Communist Party of Germany [KPD], which ended today in Frankfurt/Oder, have advocated an electoral alliance with left-wing groups. It was unanimously agreed that there should be no alliance with the Party of Democratic Socialism for the elections on 18 March, Party Chairman Klaus Sbrzesny emphasized to the press. An electoral alliance with the Carnations and the German Marxist Party, and also the United Left Initiative is, however, conceivable.

After controversial but constructive debate, the party now has a provisional progam and statute, as well as an electoral program, he said. The KPD is unanimous in its support for the preservation of the GDR as a social alternative to the FRG. His party does not agree to absorption by the Federal Republic. A process of unification could be effected only in the pan-European framework with a fixing of the present borders and simultaneous disarmament.

The party's economic concept is based on social ownership of the means of production as the dominant form of ownership, he said. He also referred to the declared goal of raising society's standard of living. Here, ecological questions, the autonomy of enterprises, and the development of ownership-consciousness among workers should be given greater attention. The currency supremacy of the GDR State Bank must be guaranteed, the party chairman said.

In a communication to the roundtable, the conference condemned the decision to stop admitting newly formed groups and parties to the discussions.

The KPD was reestablished at the end of January. It now has an estimated 5,100 members. The party associates itself with traditions from the year 1919, and calls upon the theoretical positions of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

'The Socialists' Political Association Forms

LD1802211990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0020 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The countrywide political association The Socialists [Die Sozialisten] was founded on 17 February in Leipzig at a coordination meeting of representatives of left-wing movements and initiatives from several towns. According to a report given to ADN, it is in favor of a socially orientated market economy system in a unified Germany that guarantees the workers extensive rights for co-determination.

The new association is open to left-wing democratic initiatives and alliances. It calls on all interested groups to form a countrywide council of spokespersons. The program of the Socialists is headed with Green-Red solidarity. GDR citizens and also foreigners who are 16 and who supported the program can be members. The association is not standing for election on 18 March with its own central list.

New Forum Statement on Election Date

AU1202184590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 10-11 Feb 90 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Statement on the Election Date"]

[Text] The early date for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March is not a joint decision by the associations and parties of the Round Table.

In the negotiations with Premier Modrow, New Forum declared its readiness to accept responsibility for the government until 6 May in specific areas (Justice Ministry, Economics Ministry, Interior Ministry, Energy Ministry).

We had prepared ideas about political and economic goals of this government on the following topics:

—internal security
—foreign policy
—steps for rapprochement between the two German states
—economy
—stabilization at the local level
—social issues.

The refusal of the Social Democratic Party to accept specific responsibility by participating in government and the subsequent statement by the Christian Democratic Union of Germany that in this case they do not want to participate in the government led to Premier Modrow's decision to advance the elections.

Nevertheless, New Forum maintained its readiness to accept government responsibility. The government refused to hold any further talks on this offer and the appertaining questions.

We cannot escape the impression that the decision to advance the election date had already been made before the negotiations began. Herewith we protest against this tactical maneuver with which the established parties and the organizations, which are supported in their election campaign by FRG parties, gain preferential treatment.

In the view of New Forum, the process of democratization should develop from below to above, thus, for instance, local elections should take place before the People's Chamber elections.

New Forum

Laender Spokesmen Council.

'Democracy Now' Nominates Election Candidates

AU1602152890 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 13 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Democracy Now Nominates Its Candidates"]

[Text] East Berlin—The citizens' movement Democracy Now has confirmed Hans-Juergen Fischbeck, Guenter Nooke, and Minister Wolfgang Ullmann as candidates for the elections to the People's Chamber at the representatives' conference in Berlin on 10-11 February. A press release to this effect was issued on 12 February. The participants in the representatives' conference stressed that they want to make it clear during the election campaign "that the country's citizens' movements are against mere democracy by consent, which is supported by the parties." Democracy Now wants to promote in parliament the political influence of the citizens before the elections, the statement pointed out.

Government Not To Send Vietnamese Home

AU1602134690 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] According to the Ministry of Labor and Wages, the GDR does not presently intend to send Vietnamese workers back home. The responsible department chief said in Berlin on 16 February that talks are currently being held with the Vietnamese Government on whether the working conditions could be changed for the roughly 60,000 Vietnamese in the GDR.

Earlier, the refugee relief organization Cape Anamur Committee reported that the workers from Vietnam would be sent home. Students also were concerned about having to return to Vietnam before finishing their studies.

Ministers Approve Trade Union Draft

LD1502143990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1352 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers today approved the draft of a trade union law, decided and submitted by the Free German Trade Union Federation congress. Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer stated on the same day at a news conference in Berlin that the government sees in strong trade unions a decisive condition for an effective representation of the interests of the working people. This is all the more the case when the transition to a social market economy requires trade union co-participation and co-responsibility for the preservation and securing of the social affairs of the working people. The government committed itself with emphasis to the reponsibility of the state to guarantee unhindered activity to the trade unions so that they can realize their rights within the framework of the Constitution. The draft law will be presented to the People's Chamber for further discussion. [passage omitted]

Former Communists Rehabilitated by PDS

LD1202094890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0142 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The central arbitration commission of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] has rehabilitated 33 comrades who, in past decades, either through Stalinist arbitrariness or abuse of power by former Socialist Unity Party of Germany functionaries, were censured. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports on 12 February that among those rehabilitated are the Leipzig historian, Professor Walter Markov; Kaete Duenow, who, as a German Communist in the USSR, was subjected after 1937 to serious repressive measures; and the balladeer Gerhard Gundermann who, in 1984, was expelled from the party as a result of wrongful accusations.

Altogether, over 1,000 comrades have been rehabilitated by the area and district arbitration commissions, and 1,587 decisions made to rescind party resolutions since the extraordinary PDS congress in December last year.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND also reports that the central arbitration commission has requested that former Education Minister Margot Honecker comment on her responsibility for the crisis in society, especially the mistaken developments in public education. However, Mrs. Honecker has announced that she no longer feels herself "to be a member of the SED/PDS" and that she has no intention "of joining the PDS." She is unable to heed the request to attend a discussion.

According to the paper, former SED Central Committee members Guenter Ehrensperger, Fritz Mueller, and Hanna Wolf, former Central Committee department heads Guenter Glende and Heinz Wildenhain, and the deputy head of the commercial coordination sector, Manfred Seidel, were expelled from the PDS. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Accord Expected 10 Mar

LD2602195890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The government today discussed the assets of the party and the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The halting of ruble-accounted exports was discussed. The Council of Ministers extended the ban on food exports until 1 July. Another date: the agreement on Soviet troop withdrawals is expected to be signed 10 March. Government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok speaks to Gabor Bankuti.

[Begin recording] [Bankuti] The government today discussed the use of party assets, the assets of the former MSZMP. How far did they get? Let us begin by asking when the headquarters on Jaszai Mari Square [in Budapest], the so-called White House [Feher Haz], will get into government hands.

[Bajnok] I cannot reply to this after today's session. The government commissioner who deals with the utilization put an entire volume of material on the Council of Ministers' table. What is at issue are some 200 premises, indeed somewhat more than this. At today's session the government acknowledged this briefing with the emphatic request that in utilizing these buildings, priority must be given to use for health, education, cultural, the social purposes.

[Bankuti] Since you have mentioned social affairs, I have heard that Judit Csehak [minister of health and social affairs] has been given two months' leave.

[Bajnok] Yes, she asked for and was granted two months' unpaid leave, beginning 15 March. Minister Mrs. Judit Csehak is the director of the WHO's European region; she asked to be a consultant to the finalization of a very important submission by the organization. During her absence, State Secretary Istvan Gyorfi will lead the Ministry of Health.

[Bankuti] There was talk of the people's economic plan, although I do not know—maybe it is a bit too early for this.

[Bajnok] The high level of rubles surplus is causing very serious strains in the economy. Very intensive bilateral Hungarian-Soviet talks are under way. For example, the prospects of Soviet troop withdrawals make it more timely to compile a program for the rational utilization of the vacated premises and housing.

[Bankuti] Was there talk of when the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Hungary, or when an agreement on this will come about?

[Bajnok] There was talk of the latter. The Foreign Affairs Ministry informed the government that based on where the talks currently stand, the agreement on the troop withdrawals could foreseeably be signed 10 March.

[Bankuti] To my knowledge, a draft law is being drawn up on the nullification of the resolutions that stripped dozens of Hungarian citizens of their citizenship.

[Bajnok] Some 1,500 people or more are in question here. At today's session, the government voted in favor of a draft law that these sentences should be regarded globally as being null and void, or insofar as the people concerned lay claim to Hungarian citizenship after so much time, they will be Hungarian citizens again from the time they write their statements of intent. [passage omitted]

[Bankuti] On personnel issues: Is there a successor to Laszlo Somogyi, former government commissioner for the World Exhibition, who recently resigned?

[Bajnok] Ferenc Glatz [minister of culture and education] presented the preparatory committee's unanimous motion that Etele Barath be charged with this.

[Bankuti] He is state secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Construction. [passage omitted] [end recording]

KGB Official in Moscow Discusses Cooperation

AU2602152690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

["D.P." report: "There Are No KGB Officers in the Hungarian Interior Ministry"]

[Text] At present, there are no KGB advisers in the Hungarian Interior Ministry, Vladimir Lutsenko, deputy head of the Constitutional Defense Directorate of the KGB, announced in Moscow. However, as members of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union and Hungary cooperate in defense and state security matters.

This cooperation is based on the principle of full sovereignty and is regulated by adequate agreements, Lutsenko said, and described reports on this subject published in the Hungarian dailies in January 1990 as "distorted."

In practice, this cooperation is carried out by specially authorized Soviet KGB and Hungarian Interior Ministry officers in Budapest and Moscow, respectively. They have no advisory functions. According to a KGB news conference held in Moscow on 22 February, the two organizations cooperate in the security of state borders and in the fight against international terrorism, smugglers, and drug trafficking, as well as against organized crime. According to the TASS report on the news conference, Lutsenko noted that the Soviet justice bodies have contacts not only with the Warsaw Pact members but also with developing and capitalist countries.

The part of the TASS report dealing with the Hungarian-Soviet relations mentions the fact that the observations made by Lutsenko refer to the present. The KGB officer did not deal with the recent or distant past.

Further From Horn on NATO, Minorities

AU2602111690 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 26 Feb 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Kurt Seinitz; place and date not given]

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn gave the following answers to questions asked by Kurt Seinitz:

—On Hungary and NATO: "What matters is a joint European security system, under whatever name. NATO, and I mean the political aspect of the alliance, might develop into such a system. The statement I made in this connection was a possibility for the future and not a current desire for membership. It would first be necessary to create the preconditions for such a step. Besides, we also said that we ought to discuss joining the EC, yet this did not mean that we applied for membership right away."

—On neutrality: "We can achieve the objective of a pan-European security system by various paths, even by uniting the two blocs or by European neutrality. As far as Austria's neutrality is concerned, I would like to say that when Austria applied for EC membership, it was told that this was impossible because of its neutrality. From this we concluded that a new situation requires a new approach."

—On ethnic Hungarians in Romania: "After Ceausescu fell, there was much euphoria and hope here that the situation of the Hungarians in Romania might improve, and I made an adventurous trip to Bucharest as the first foreign minister to visit after the revolution."

At that time we discussed everything and concluded many agreements, yet little has happened since. We do not see any goodwill on the part of Romania, but only pan-Romanian nationalism, particularly at the middle echelon. There are still many old functionaries with a shady political past.

The Romanian leadership would have to set clear measures to remove these people. Another question is whether it wants that at all. The Hungarians in Romania are disappointed and quite rightly impatient. The atmosphere is getting worse, even within the other national minorities."

—On democratization in the East: "I have no doubts that such developments will also take place in the USSR, and it will cost us a lot. I hope that one will have to make only a few sacrifices; this is also in the interest of all of Europe."

—On the Hungarian minority in the Serbian province of Vojvodina: "There are more and more problems in that region. Increasing nationalism invariably suppresses the minorities. We hope that national forces will gain the upper hand. The sources allowing for nationalism must be removed, which means that discrimination must end."

Romanian Hungarian-Language Article Noted

AU0702151190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on article published in the 27 January issue of Romanian Hungarian-language daily MAGYAR SZO: "New Foreign Policy With Old People and Old Methods?"]

[Text] The 27 January issue of MAGYAR SZO [HUNGARIAN WORD], which is published in Romania, deals with Romanian reaction to Mitterrand's statements and criticizes the statement issued by the Foreign Ministry in connection with this.

"Anyone who believes that it is possible to conduct a new foreign policy with old methods and old people who are unable or unwilling to renew themselves is making a mistake. However, the December revolution in Romania hardly affected the staff and the leadership of the Foreign Ministry," the article says and points out that the diplomats of the Hungarian Embassy are negotiating on Romanian-Hungarian relations with the same Foreign Ministry representatives as in the time of the old regime, and they are encountering the same obstacles as before.

"At the recent meeting held in Budapest between Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Hungarian Republic, and Karoly Kiraly, deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, the Hungarian side concluded with serious concern that the old reflexes and structures were still working in Romania that hinder the exploitation of the historic opportunity and the achievement of specific results as soon as possible," the Romanian daily says and adds that it seems that the Romanian side is not ready to restart the functioning of institutions eliminated or banned during the dictatorship, institutions like the Hungarian Consulate in Kolozsvar [Cluj] and the Hungarian Cultural House in Bucharest.

"The time has come to understand, once and for all, that Hungary does not wish to conquer Romanian territory. However, one should acknowledge certain historical facts. Hungary indeed lost two-thirds of its former territory, whether it had historical rights or not. Thus, the Hungarian population in Romania is the largest national minority in Europe. Thus, the issue of Hungarians living beyond its border is indeed a painful problem for Hungary, and with justification. The Hungarian Government feels responsible for the fate of the Hungarians in Romania. They have a right to have contacts with the other parts of the Hungarian nation, just like we Hungarians living here. The old prejudices should be set aside because they only incite hatred. We need now a friendly hand rather than renewed incitement of national feelings," the article points out.

Romania Asked To Lift Books Import Ban

LD2702113390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Imre Szokai has summoned the Romanian charge d'affaires and requested emphatically that Romania withdraw its statement with which it restricted the import of Hungarian-language books into the country. The deputy foreign minister drew attention to the fact that this measure contradicts the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the provisions of the Vienna Accord. According to Imre Szokai, the explicitly anti-Hungarian decision, which evokes the policy of the earlier period, questions the honesty of Romanian statements about the reconciliation of the two nations and the settlement of the two countries' relations. The deputy foreign minister asked the Romanian charge d'affaires in Budapest to convey to the Bucharest government Hungary's request that books and other items be permitted to enter Romania unimpeded.

GDR Government Delegation Pays Visit

LD2302115490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1032 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—A GDR Government delegation led by Vice Premier Christa Luft arrived in Budapest today on a one-day working visit with the aim of facilitating Hungarian exports to the GDR. The program includes talks with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth and Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy.

The GDR politician said with reference to the content and aims of the consultations a few weeks before elections in the two countries: "We want the visit to demonstrate that GDR industry has a continuing interest in maintaining and expanding cooperation with its Hungarian partners. No government can abolish economic imperatives at short notice."

Delegation Holds Talks

LD2302224190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1445 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—A GDR Government delegation led by Vice Premier Christa Luft held talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy in Budapest today.

The two sides declared their interest in upholding their economic relations, irrespective of the forthcoming elections in the GDR and Hungary, the GDR politician told journalists afterward. Hungary and the GDR are important partners. The two countries see themselves as bridges in East-West relations and in this connection have a joint interest in expanding bilateral cooperation.

An important subject of the talks was the search for possibilities to improve licensing procedures for certain exports to the GDR. Apart from Ikarus buses, this affects, above all, rolling mill equipment and pharmaceutical products, the minister said. "Our Hungarian partners," said the minister, "have agreed to find constructive solutions, but have also referred to the GDR's deficit in bilateral trade. In case of a Hungarian surplus at the end of the year, they offered to convert this into a convertible currency or buy equivalent shares in GDR industry, thus forming joint ventures."

The problem of providing GDR tourists with the forints was also discussed. However, the Hungarian side cannot be held responsible for the small amount of travel money available. Rather, the inadequate GDR export range is responsible, the deputy government chief said.

The sides agreed on the need to fundamentally reform CEMA and put its activity on a market economy foundation.

Obstacles to CEMA integration in pan-European processes must be overcome speedily.

Nemeth and Medgyessy made it clear that Hungary welcomes a unified Germany. They are convinced that the unification will take place in the framework of the pan-European process.

Bulgarian Ambassador Makes Farewell Visit

LD2602232790 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of parliament, and Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the farewell visit of Venelin Todorov Kotsev, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Hungary, who has left Budapest for good.

Somogyi Discusses Human Rights in Geneva

AU2602153390 Budapest MTI in English 2016 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, 23 Feb (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, secretary of state at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, addressed the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, in Geneva on Friday.

Mr Somogyi stressed that Hungary ensures human rights and fundamental freedom rights, on the one hand by creating national legislation, governmental responsibility and an independent jurisdiction, and, on the other hand, as a member of the community of nations, it takes a firm stand for the universal enforcement and protection of these rights in its foreign policy.

The Hungarian secretary of state for foreign affairs noted that human rights form the fundamental values of democratic societies. The promotion and enfocement of these within national frameworks is the unequivocal obligation of the given state, just as the international protection of these rights, including the arrangements for monitoring compliance, is the obligation of the states.

Discussing the East European changes, Mr Somogy said the existence, or the transformation, of a given social system does not, in itself, guarantee respect for human rights. Consequently, the revolutionary transformations taking place in the eastern part of Europe do not automatically bring about the enforcement of human rights.

Mr Somogyi said several phenomena can, unfortunately, be experienced in Hungary's direct environment that threaten with nationalism replacing rationalism indispensable for solving the existing problems. In this context, he said the free exercising of the individual and collective rights of the Hungarian ethnic minority living in the neighbouring countries, alongside being a major home political issue for Hungary, is also an indispensable condition for the stability and balanced development of the region and the entire continent.

Mr Somogyi went on to note that Hungary attaches great importance to further strengthening the international mechanism for the protection and implementation of human rights. Just as in numerous fields of politics, there are exceptional cases with respect to human rights as well, which call for exceptional responses. Therefore, Hungary recommends for consideration its proposal to add a new form to international control and monitoring of human rights. It is aimed at ensuring that in situations involving exceptional and unexpected violations of human rights, the United Nations set up a stand-by group to be entrusted by the secretary-general or the director of the Centre for Human Rights with the task of carrying out on-the-spot inquiry and to be empowered to make recommendations in cases where so warranted by violation of the generally accepted human rights norms and standards in the given country, said secretary of state for foreign affairs Ferenc Somogyi in Geneva.

Bank President Describes IMF Negotiations

LD2602145290 Budapest MTI in English 1255 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 26, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Mr Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH] announced to the Parliamentary ways and means committee meeting over the weekend tht the Hungarian government has recently sent a letter of intent to IMF in which it has undertaken to slash Hungary's budget deficit from 49.36 billion forints (820 million USd) last year to under 10 billion forints (150 million USd) in 1990.

As the NBH wil finance only part of the deficit, the budget will have to find other sources in the money market, via treasury bills, Mr Bartha said. The convertible current account deficit must be kept to 550 milion USd (1989: 1.3 billion USd) and central bank reserves have to be increased by 600 million USd to 2.3 billion USd during the year. These measures have been undertaken as part of a new, one-year, 160-million-SDR [Special Drawing Rights] standby credit agreement to be signed with the IMF in mid-March.

The NBH president also threw light on the considerable debate between the representatives of NBH and IMF during their preliminary talks.

IMF experts held the view that zero growth was not an appropriate target for 1990, preferring to see an actual fall in production, a substantial drop in Comecon exports was unlikely. In their view, to be offset by trade with western countries. They also saw the government's 19 per cent inflation forecast for this year as too high, and set last year's figure of 17 per cent as the limit for 1990.

The IMF negotiators were also sceptical as to whether last year's rouble foreign trade surplus of 550 million roubles could be realistically wiped out and therefore demanded that several guarantees be built into the agreement.

Representatives of the Hungarian government, however, did manage to defend their position on the short-term viability of a less austere monetary policy than the one the IMF had put forward, but Mr Bartha warned that should the economic processes deviate from the target during the year, the IMF-proposed corrective measures—the tightening of monetary policy and a credit squeeze—will have to be brought in immediately.

According to the NBH president, the government and the IMF have reached a tacit understanding that the IMF will revise this letter of intent with the new government following the March elections. If the agreed measures are successfully carried out, the IMF will replace the one-year agreement with a medium-term deal and as such is looking for guarantees that the new government will respect the agreement to be signed in mid-March.

Mr Bartha informed the committee that foreign money markets are rather nervous about Hungary at the moment, following rumours that the new government will ask for a rescheduling of Hungary's debts.

There is therefore a need, in Mr Bartha's opinion, for the major parties to arrive at a common position on the matter to reassure foreign creditors that they will continue the consistent and strict economic policy of the present government and maintain the country's solvency.

Mr Bartha was confident that following the March agreement with the IMF, foreign financing can be secured for the Hungarian economy through 1990 and at least two years beyond.

Opinion Poll on Upcoming Elections

AU2402175790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Feb 90 pp 1, 5

[Correspondent's report: "Individual Chances—Party Leaders in the Arena"]

[Text] Between 25 and 31 January, the Hungarian Public Opinion Research Institute carried out a public opinion

survey on the upcoming parliamentary elections. The 1,000 people surveyed reflect the composition of Hungary's adult population.

With the approach of the elections, to be held on 25 March, both the citizens and the leading echelons of the political organizations that are competing for voters are increasingly recognizing the fact that their parliamentary mandates will be decided in a double competition "on the great day." Along with the party propaganda, the election campaign of individual candidates has also gone into high gear. Although there is still more than one month left until the elections, some elements of the election law have already been harshly criticized, and a small scandal has erupted in connection with the gathering of recommendation slips. Because of the magic four percent limit, the small parties have no chance whatsoever to make it into the parliament on district lists, and their only hope is that they might get some mandates through some "local potentates" in the individual election districts. However, the "weighty" parties are similarly fighting to get their individual candidates elected into the parliament, as more than half of the seats will be occupied this way. And we have not yet spoken of the struggle of independent candidates, which could lead to surprises in some places.

Primarily on the basis of opinion polls published so far, one can now properly evaluate the influence of individual political forces. The expected performance of individual candidates is the most unclear point in considering the election prospects. Citizens often have totally different motivations in voting for individual candidates than for voting for parties. In addition to the individual candidates' party affiliation, many other factors also contribute to the citizen's decision, like personal sympathy, local or national popularity, public activity, or even the candidates' sex.

We did not have the exact list of candidates in individual election districts in January, and anyone who tried to consider the election prospects of the thousands of candidates in 176 election districts would be embarking on an almost impossible task. Therefore, in our analysis, we used a fictitious situation in order to slightly dissipate the uncertainty concerning the aforementioned problems.

We imagined a situation in which four politicians are running for mandates. Two of them (Janos Berecz and Imre Pozsgay) represent the two successor organizations of the former state party, and the other two (Lajos Fur and Gaspar Tamas) represent the two strongest opposition parties. In a rather close fight, Imre Pozsgay came out as the winner with a relative majority of votes in this high-ranking competition. The results of the "election" are worth analyzing from several viewpoints because they provide interesting conclusions.

In the process of accelerated legislation and during the reduction of accumulated regulations, the environmental guarantees of these regulations must not be discarded, and there should not be legal opportunities for the spreading of negative environmental effects in the free economic competition, even if the domestic or the foreign capital would benefit from this.

	If these candidates ran in your election district, whom would you choose? (percentage of answers among the people asked (m) and those who gave genuine answers (v):	
	m	v
Janos Berecz (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party)	7	10
Lajos Fur (Hungarian Democratic Forum)	18	26
Imre Pozsgay (Hungarian Socialist Party)	23	33
Miklos Gaspar Tamas (Association of Free Democrats)	22	31
other answers	12	-
does not know	8	-
would not vote	10	-
	100	100

The difference in the popularity of the four politicians reflects their different past. Everyone knows Pozsgay and Berecz, while only slightly more than half of the people surveyed were ready to evaluate the two opposition politicians. A few months ago, Imre Pozsgay was still holding a stable place among the most popular politicians, but the recent storms have also diminished his prestige. At the end of January, the two opposition leaders had a slightly greater popularity than Imre Pozsgay, albeit among a relatively narrow circle of people. It seems that despite the decline in his party's and his own respect, Imre Pozsgay's hard-fought success can be explained by the advantages of his personal past and his great political career. However, in Berecz's case, the fact that he is known nationwide could not counterbalance the antipathy toward his party and himself.

The popularity points of the four politicians. (a = the percentage of people who evaluated them; b = popularity points; 0 = lowe-st possible points; 100 = highest possible points)

	a	b
Janos Berecz	86	34
Lajos Fur	58	65
Imre Pozsgay	92	55
Miklos Gaspar Tamas	55	62

The election proportions are changing strangely if we only take into consideration those people who expressed their opinion about all the four politicians—or slightly simplified—people who "know" all of them. Among them (some 43 percent of all the people surveyed), Miklos Gaspar Tamas received the most votes (41 percent), followed by Lajos Fur (32 percent), Imre Pozsgay (22 percent), and Janos Berecz (five percent.) This "swing over" again draws our attention to the fact that the real election results will be decided by the ignorant majority, rather than by the politically aware minority.

Finally, it is worth analyzing the issue of "party sympathies" and "individual sympathies." In the following table, we can follow the percentage of people who voted for the parties' "own men" and the extent to which people deviated from such conclusions. We can also see the attraction of big names among those uncertain about which party to choose.

	Whom would the supporters of individual parties choose? (the proportion of those who chose somebody in percentages)				
	Berecz	Fur	Pozsgay	Tamas	Total
MSZMP "voters"	52	9	30	9	100
MDF "voters"	1	69	16	14	100
MSZP "voters"	20	1	74	5	100
SZDSZ "voters"	2	7	10	81	100
other party "voters"	11	24	35	30	100
"non-voters"	10	17	49	24	100

[MSZMP—Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; MDF—Hungarian Democratic Forum; MSZP—Hungarian Socialist Party; SZDSZ—Association of Free Democrats]

HDF Leads Polls; MSZMP Least Favored

LD2602232290 Budapest MTI in English 2032 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—The Median Public Opinion and Market Research Ltd. carried out an election survey from February 10 to 14. The survey results were released in Budapest on Monday. Median was asked to organize the survey by the U.S. National Democratic Institute [NDI].

NDI provides professional advice to promote the advancement of the democratization processes in many countries of the world. It has provided assistance to Hungarian parties in the preparation of the election campaign since the middle of 1989.

In the survey, 1,200 people were questioned, and this sample represented the composition of the voters.

Of those questions, 51 per cent were sure they would vote, 27 per cent said they would "probably" vote.

Of the replies that could be evaluated (1,168 people), 23.8 favoured the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], 18.4 per cent the Alliance of Free Democrats. These parties were followed by the Independent Smallholders' Party (15.9 per cent), the Hungarian Socialist Party (9.9), the Federation of Young Democrats (9.8) and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (5.2)

Replies given to another question indicate which parties are the least favoured: the "negative" list is headed by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] (35.2 per cent), followed by the Hungarian Socialist Party (20.6), the Federation of Young Democrats (7.1), and the Independent Smallholders party (6.9).

Parties Object to Telecast of Nemeth Speech

LD2602231790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of several parties would consider it correct if on National Day, 15 March, the candidates of the parliamentary elections did not make speeches in the capital, and if Hungarian Television did not broadcast their speeches in the provinces either. They took this stance at the discussion they held at Hungarian Television headquarters. The participants protested against the fact that television, on the order of the president of the

Presidium, is to broadcast Premier Miklos Nemeth's speech. According to the Alliance of Free Democrats, however, television should either report every speech that reflects a party stance, or none, and that includes the speech of Hungarian Socialist Party candidate Miklos Nemeth as well.

To this we can add the stance of Hungarian Television. The television is ready to broadcast every important festive event on 15 March. However, prior to this, the various political forces will have to decide how they wish to celebrate this notable day.

ISP Leaders Attend Szekesfehervar Rally

LD2502224190 Budapest MTI in English 2015 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) staged a rally in Szekesfehervar on Sunday in the attendance of all leaders of the party.

Guest of honour Franz Fischler, Austrian minister of agriculture, conveyed the greetings of the Austrian Peasant Federation and the Austrian People's Party. He spoke about the lasting values of the peasantry which made the villages suitable for continuous renewal. Mr Fischler said the Austrian peasants paid respect to the Hungarians because they had preserved their faith over the past forty years and now they are able to unite their efforts and renew themselves.

Jozsef Torgyan, head of the party's election office, said: Should the Independent Smallholders' Party come to government, it would immediately announce Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty and call upon the Soviet troops to leave the territory of the country with no delay.

Rally in Soltvadkert

LD2502223990 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) should elaborate, within one month, the draft land law which it intends to present to parliament. If we fail to do so, we are talking only idly, Geza Zsiros, president of the Bekes County organization of the ISP, told an election rally at Soltvadkert on Sunday.

Mr Zsiros said that the land should be returned to its owner or his legal successor free from mortgage, irrespective of the fact whether it had been paid off or simply taken away from the original owner. As long as this does not happen, Hungary will not become a market economy and the ISP will not win the voters' confidence. Mr Zsiros demanded that the village communities should be given back their common land.

Mr Zsiros said the Independent Smallholder's Party had every chance of winning the elections.

MSZP Leaders Discuss Chances in Election

LD2502234190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) international news conference with provisional President Matyas Szuros and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn; Minister of State Imre Pozsgay; Premier Miklos Nemeth; and MSZP Chairman Rezso Nyers; in Szekesfehervar on 24 February from "The Week" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] This week Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the republic, returning home from Warsaw, had very grave remarks to make about the current Hungarian-Romanian relationship. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn likewise this week expressed a new approach to the possible European alliance systems. Both of them took part in the international news conference of their party [Hungarian Socialist Party—MSZP] in Szekesfehervar, where naturally a significant part of the government was present. The international press was also very interested in the nationality issues:

[Pozsgay] In the matter of the nationalities and minorities, we believe in self-determination. In this regard, Hungary undertakes a responsibility and her government, too, hopefully will undertake a responsibility for the Magyardom living beyond the borders. And it is authorized to do this by one single thing—but a universal thing—the fact that we have all signed the Helsinki Final Act, in which it is declared—in my view for eternity for Europe—that the issue of human rights is not an internal affair. This is what we also profess and adhere to.

[Szuros] It is democracies that can really cooperate with democracies. We have a complex program, which at that time we even submitted to the Ceausescu leadership. We continue to uphold this. And I am persuaded that if we cannot settle this, for instance with Romania, then there will be no good-neighborly relations. Not because the treatment of the national and nationality issue is virtually of vital importance for Hungary, but because here in Europe alone there live 3.5 million-4 million Magyars beyond our borders, and in Transylavania there live so many Magyars that there are only about 30 countries in the world whose population is smaller.

[Horn] This leadership, this government, is breaking with its predecessors. It has been the first to undertake representation of the interests of Magyardom living beyond the borders. Second, this [word indistinct] leadership, this government, was the one that put 1956 back its place, revalued it, and which at the same time dispensed justice to those who left the country after 1956. We are worried about what is happening in Romania today. And not merely (?in respect to the) Magyars. We are worried about the situation there; about nationalism, which has grown stronger to an extraordinary degree. Because you cannot attain democracy through nationalism. And I am convinced that in Romania not only the rights of the minorities, but the

rights of the Romanians, too, cannot be guaranteed without democracy. And I am also convinced that by treating the rights of the minorities in an offhanded manner, on a nationalist basis, by ignoring their rights, Romania, or the Romanian nation, (?in a word) is harming itself because it will not be able to fit into the process of European civilization.

[Nemeth] [Words indistinct] that they can put questions to us also from Tirgu Mures. This shows that here the world has changed. And it has been given to us by fate and by history that we can again choose voluntarily, freely, and independently our systems, the direction of our policy. I trust and I believe that this will remain permanent in this region and that we shall try, not by becoming severed from one another, separated from one another, but by joining forces, to write together the pages of history following the December Revolution, which have been proclaimed empty. It is very difficult [words indistinct], (?that is obvious). There will be many kinds of actors on the stage. But in order for a good performance in this region, a good director is not enough.

[Announcer] How do you judge the MSZP's election chances?

[Nyers] If a lot of people go to vote, then that will further increase our chances because political uncertainty at present exists in the sphere of left-wing voters.

[Announcer] This was a general opinion. But nowadays the opposition parties, and the parties in general, are putting themselves in numerical order:

[Nyers] I predict that we shall be among the first three.

[Pozsgay] Afterward, it will be the job of the legislators to decide who shall get what mandate, either in parliament or in government. In other words, I believe that the coalition bargaining, although there are winks this way and that, will in the last resort take place after the elections. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] This rally and news conference took place on 23 February.

Federation of Young Democrats Hold Rally

LD2502220290 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) expects to win 8 per cent of the votes in the parliamentary elections, the FYD leaders told an election rally in Budapest on Sunday. They referred to the latest opinion poll which revealed that FYD stood in fifth place among the parties. The federation hopes to make yet another advance and leave the fourth- placed Hungarian Socialist Party behind in the elections.

The federation worked out a social liberal programme, which is based on human freedoms and autonomous activity and, in the economic field, gives priority to the halting of inflation.

In reply to questions, the FYD leaders said the federation advocated a peaceful change in the system. They hold it necessary to make some personnel changes in the upper level of state adminstration but insist that professional skill should be the main criterion for filling the various posts on all the other levels.

Free Democrats Hold Election Meeting

LD2502000290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] In Hungary, the election campaign entered its second stage. In our programs we have reported on the election campaigns of several parties during the course of the day. We received news on the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] meeting late tonight.

After the elections, the Alliance of Free Democrats will force representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] into complete retreat. Laszlo Rajk, one of the SZDSZ executives, stated this at the party's mass meetng in Bekescsaba. In his view, one of the impeders of transformation is the MSZP and its predecessor, the MSZMP.

Arguing with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Laszlo Rajk also urged the radical completion of the changes of leadership and a legal calling to account. At the same time, he presented his stance in favor of Hungary's neutrality in the future.

Social Democrats Hold National Meeting

LD2402212990 Budapest MTI in English 1936 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) would consider it a victory if it won 20 per cent of the votes in the parliamentary elections of March 25. The party's national list, including 68 names, is topped by President Anna Petrasovits. All this was announced at a national party meeting in Budapest on Saturday. Addressing the meeting, Mrs Petrasovits said the SDPH was the only authentic representative of social democracy in Hungary. The party condemns all attempts of the ruling forces to preserve their power. The only alternative left for the social strata impoverished during the communist rule is to join the SDPH, which is a European left-wing workers' party, Mrs Petrasovits said.

Concerning the relationship between the SDPH and the trade unions, Mrs Petrasovits emphasized that there could not be any bourgeois transformation without the trade unions. She added that her party reckoned on the entrepreneurs as well.

Addressing the meeting, a representative of the Social Democratic Party of Gypsies in Hungary said the HSDP was the only party representing the interests of gypsies as well.

Alpar Toth, an economic expert of the party, termed it as a priority to establish social security of livelihood.

After the meeting, Mrs Petrasovits told newsmen that the SDPH regarded all organizations aiming at the creation of bourgeois democracy as its partners. In her view, the four-party coalition formed before the November 26 referendum (SDPH. Alliance of Free Democrats, Federation of Young Democrats, Independent Smallholders' Party) would be able to form a government after the March elections. They could by joined by the Christian Democratic People's Party and the Social Democratic Party of Gypsies in Hungary too.

The party meeting was greeted by the representatives of the Austrian, Italian and German social democratic parties and a delegate of the social democratic group of the European Parliament.

Democratic Forum Leader Denies Coalition Rumors

LD2402210290 Budapest Domestic Service in 1730 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The elections are, of course, at the center of attention of Hungarian political life. We have known since midnight that 12 parties can put up national lists. The campaign continues; what is more, it is revving up. Sandor Forgacs has met with Jozsef Antall, chairman of the Democratic Forum [MDF] at an international news conference.

[Begin Forgacs recording] At this news conference, the MDF chairman made it clear that the forum belongs to the center parties and, regarding its goals, it is unequivocally right of center.

It undertakes the traditions of classic parliamentarian-sim, the Hungarian popular movements of the thirties, and the ideology of European Christian Democracy. This is why the MDF requested admission to the European Democratic Union.

At the news conference, Jozsef Antal rejected rumors that the MDF has carried out coalition negotiations with any parties before the elections, during the campaign. He said that it is necessary that the people should be able to choose clearly from the programs of the parties. There is a need for a coalition only after the elections.

In reply to the question as to whether the MDF is already preparing for the regional elections, Jozsef Antall said that according to the opinion of his organization, the system of local governments should be built first and only after should the parliamentary election of higher levels is held. He pointed out that the basic positions are still held by many of the followers of the old regime, therefore, after the elections, local government elections will have to be held quickly, and a supervisory system has to be created that will make restoration impossible in order that the work of governing should not be hampered by anything. [end recording]

Workers Solidarity Federation Meeting Held

LD2402205690 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The Workers' Solidarity Federation is likely to become a strong trade union. Andras Takacs, a leading official of the federation, said at the national meeting in Budapest on Saturday. The meeting was attended by the respresentatives of the Polish Solidarity, the French CGT and the British Trade Unions.

So far the Workers' Solidarity Federation has set up organizations in 41 factories. It was initiated to establish a self-governing workers' committee in the ozd unit of the Kontakta company to prevent the sellout of the factory.

Mr Takacs said that the senior activists of solidarity were exposed to threat and some of them had been laid off. He added that the majority of company managers showed a hostile attitidue to solidarity.

The participants held a consultation with the representatives of the Federation of Young Democratis, the Christian National Union, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian October Party and the Alliance of Free democrats on their approach to the trade union and their programmes.

Parliament of Workers Councils Elects President

LD2402195690 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The workers' councils are not performing the tasks of a trade union, the participants in the parliament of workers' councils stressed in Budapest on Saturday. The employees seek to act as proprietors who are interested in the most profitable operation of their companies. The workers' councils demand to have a say in the national management of assets as well, they said.

The parliament set up the national federation of workers' councils and elected Lajos Somlay its president. (Mr Somlay was the president of a workers' council in 1956 as well.) The parliament protested against the slashing of CMEA exports which is feared to make over 100,000 employees jobless. The participants condemned the companies which had taken retaliatory measures against the activists of the workers' councils.

Economic Commissioner Analyzes Prospects

AU2402202390 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 24 Feb 90 p 20

[APA report]

[Text] Vienna—At a meeting of experts organized by the Austrian College on 23 February, Lazlo Antal, member of the Hungarian Government economic commission, painted a gloomy picture of economic developments in East Europe.

He said that Hungary's economy would experience increasing stagflation in the next two or three years. At the same time, several large enterprises would go bankrupt, which would bring the number of unemployed to a total of between 100,000 and 150,000.

As a result of the disintegration of CEMA, Antal sees considerable problems for Hungary, Poland, and the CSSR, which were the first to start market economy reforms. In addition, these countries are highly dependent on the USSR as their most important trading partner and energy supplier.

He says that an economic crisis is also inevitable in the USSR, and this will not remain without consequences for Hungary. The traditional orientation of production toward the main trading partner now makes the situation of enterprises in the former "satellite countries" more difficult, says Antal.

The situation in Poland is even worse than in Hungary. Antal says "the politicians and the people are harboring too-great illusions." He says that experts of the IMF assess his country more positively and expect an economic growth of two or three percent for Hungary. "However, that requires a stable economic situation, which we will not be able to reach before the end of the nineties." The GDR is in a better situation, above all, through its relations with the FRG, he says.

Foreign Ministry Secretary-General Thomas Klestil believes that only a radical break with the state economy can make a higher Western commitment in East Europe appear sensible. He says that foreign investors in East Europe will be more interested in industrial branches that are oriented toward the future, and they will hardly invest any money in the modernization of "industry cemeteries" of heavy industry. Klestil adds that the Western states must give relevant investment guarantees.

Independent Union Official on SZOT Congress

LD2602140590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The so-called official trade unions are to hold a congress this weekend. In connection with this, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions decided to organize a news briefing this morning. League spokesman Csaba Eori comments:

[Begin recording] [Eori] The stance of the league is that the official trade union movement—if you like, the movement hall marked with the name of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]—is significantly responsible for the masses of failures of the past decades, for halting the reforms; it is largely responsible because it basically supported the employers, and we consider it a serious danger that the functionaries of this movement, via the links with the economic and political elite that so far characterized them, especially on the factory levels, try to barricade themselves in these renewed and democratically organized trade unions and thus ensure their survival.

[Reporter] Do you recognize the legitimacy of this congress, and the fact that a legal-interest representation organization gathering together more than 4 million workers will hold their rightful congress?

[Eori] We recognize that there will be a congress and that people at that congress will represent somebody. But we do not recognize that this would be a valid representation of 4 million workers, and we do not recognize its right to manage the trade union assets belonging to every Hufigarian worker, and we do not consider it probable and acceptable that at this congress the future of Hungarian trade unions would be decided upon. [passage omitted]

The most correct thing would be for this congress to dissolve itself. It would make it possible that via genuine free and democratic elections, a new and free trade union movement could evolve. [end recording]

Investigation Against Security Officials Ends

LD2602164290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] We first report that the chief military prosecution has concluded the investigation against the officials of the internal security service. Gyorgy Ney reports:

[Begin Ney recording] Criminal responsibility—yes; bringing charges—no. That is the essence of the decision. The crime of failing to take directive action was established against the leaders of the internal security service—both of whom are now retired—former Deputy Minister Ferenc Pallagi, and Group Leader Jozsef Horvath; and for this reason the military chief prosecutor has reprimanded them. This is not a punishment but a measure that expresses social censure. Former Interior Minister Istvan Horvath is burdened by the same

responsibility, but he is a civilian so he cannot be the perpetrator of a military crime.

Although he acted illegally to an extent, Jozsef Vegvari, for the most part, did not hand over state secrets. Most of the documents were state secrets only in terms of form; for this reason, charges have not been brought against him, either. He has also been reprimanded because unconstitutional activity cannot be unveiled or disclosed in an illegal manner.

By way of surprise, another issue was discussed at the briefing. Imre Bokor, author of the book "Petty Monarchs in Uniform," which is based on the investigation by the Budapest military prosecution, stated untruths about generals (Karoly Elkan), (Istvan Komaromy), and Gyula Remenyi; that is he committed the crime of slander to their detriment. The measure to be taken here is the same as in the other affair—a reprimand and a stop to the investigation. [end recording]

Dailies Comment on Resumption of Ties With Israel

LD2602145490 Warsaw PAP in English 1245 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—"Poland Apologizes to Israel", "Return to Normalcy" are some of the headlines in national papers today as Poland is to re-establish her diplomatic relations with Israel during Israeli foreign minister's visit to Poland starting today.

In its commentary on this subject, the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote: "We have been outpaced by others. Hungary was the first country to resume diplomatic relations with Israel last September and Czechoslovakia did the same recently. Poland, which like other socialist countries severed contacts with Israel on June 12, 1967, will re-establish relations on Feb. 27."

The daily went on to say that the visit of Israeli foreign minister and the resumption of the diplomatic ties close a chapter in history which was generally unfavourable for both partners. They open a new one, although Poland continues to speak for the implementation of the decisions of the U.N. Security Council in solving the Middle East conflict.

"While correcting its former mistakes Warsaw remains faithful to its principles i.e. it calls for solving the Middle East conflict on the road of peaceful agreement and in keeping with the principle that every nation and all the states of the region have the right to live in peace and must have their security guaranteed," RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote.

The popular daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY commented: "the absent are never right or are right to a far smaller degree. The severing by Poland, along with all the socialist countries except Romania, of the diplomatic relations with Isreali after the war of 1967, could look spectacular then and could even seem justified but in fact it brought about more losses than profits.

"Poland for many years was separated by a wall of hostility from a nation with whom she has been linked for almost one thousand years of the common history, rashly breaching the still fragile tissue of inter-state relations.

"Also our consistent defence of Arab interests sounded far less credible in the situation when only one part in the Middle East conflict could fully present her political reasons," the daily wrote.

Skubiszewski, Israel's Arens Toast Renewed Ties

LD2702012190 Warsaw PAP in English 0045 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—Following are excerpts of the toasts delivered by Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Poland and Israel Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Moshe Arens respectively at a dinner here today.

Minister Skubiszewski stressed that one of the major goals of Moshe Arens' visit to Poland is related to full normalization of relations between Poland and Israel.

I would like to express satisfaction that at last we have reached that stage in our relations. Their breaking was harmful for Poland. It was a mistake, Skubiszewski stated.

The breaking of the diplomatic relations was related to a shameful campaign against Jews living in this country. The Polish nation as such had nothing to do with events that took place in 1967 and 1968. I state that on behalf of the government composed of people who had nothing to do with those matters, the Polish minister stressed.

You have come to Poland, he continued, in the period of deep political and economic reforms. The reforms have also impact on legal regulations of the problems of national minorities.

The Jewish community in Poland is not a minority. It is an integral part of the Polish society. The Polish parliament is working out a law on national minorities as well as other laws on human rights which will guarantee that past events will not be repeated, Minister Skubiszewski stated.

Said Moshe Arens:

Today we have our own state and a possibility for our protection, but it is over 10 years too late for European Jews. I am surprised at lack of understanding shown by West European countries which should better see problems facing Israel.

We have never understood why East European countries, the Soviet Union aggravated relations with us 22 years ago and why they pursued a policy hostile to us.

It is a considerable satisfaction for us that today East European countries want not only to resume relations with us but, I think, they want very unique relations.

It is remembered in Israel that Poland was the first country in the Soviet bloc to start the process of improving relations with Israel. It involved big courage.

We follow with satisfaction the developments in Poland today. She is in the lead in the transfer from a totalitarian state to democracy. It is not incidental that the drive towards democracy goes along the readiness to establish relations with Israel.

We are ready to assist Poland in her transformations. I hope we will be able to start economic relations profitable both for Poland and Israel. We are at the threshold of a new chapter in our relations, Moshe Arens stated.

Jaruzelski Receives U.S. Economic Delegation

LD2302233990 Warsaw PAP in English 2222 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy state secretary who told him about the current implementation of U.S. Congress resolution on economic aid for Poland.

The president expressed appreciation for Congress' and the U.S. Government's involvement in providing economic assistance to Poland and pointed out that, apart from access to new credits, the reduction of the Polish debt would be of key significance for the successful implementation of the governmental plan of economic recovery.

He added that Poland counted on understanding and support on the part of the U.S. in this respect.

Within bilateral cooperation, the president said. The inflow of capital and American experiences should be accelerated to help modernize Polish industry and agriculture.

Jaruzelski also assessed the processes taking place in this part of Europe and presented Poland's stand on the German unification process. He expressed a hope and conviction that the interests of national security of Poland would be fully understood in the U.S.

He added that Poland's appropriate presence, in an agreed form, at the planned unification conference would be the most proper reflection of this understanding.

The president conveyed best greetings for U.S. President George Bush.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD2302232690 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—An American government economic delegation headed by U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger who is President Bush's plenipotentiary for coordinating aid to Poland and Hungary, ended a two-day visit to Poland today.

The American delegation today met for an hour with chairman of the OKP Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek. The talks focused on certain political determinants of the economic changes in Poland.

Mr. Eagleburger was primarily interested how the Polish public opinion would accept the growing interest of western capital in investing in Poland and the prospect of privatization. Much attention was also devoted to the future structure of Europe and Germany's position on the old continent.

"I expressed a conviction that the Polish demand to be present in the process of deciding on the future of Germany and Europe was justified. I got the impression that my arguments were understood," Geremek told PAP about the meeting.

The American guests today were also received by Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski.

Treasury Secretary Brady Meets Balcerowicz

LD2502235990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Nicholas Brady, U.S. treasury secretary, made a brief consultative visit to Warsaw. The U.S. guest held talks with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and Wladyslaw Baka, chairman of the Polish National Bank. The aim of the meeting was, inter alia, to discuss ways of speeding up the flow of aid which had been granted to Poland by the U.S. Congress, and especially those forms of aid which would favor the development of private enterprise and which would give credit guarantees for export to Poland.

Moreover, Nicholas Brady acquainted himself with Poland's economic situation. According to information from PAP, issues connected with ways to solve the Polish debt, were also discussed.

Miller Interviewed on SDRP Economic Program

AU2302101490 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 17-18 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Leszek Miller, secretary general of the Central Executive Committee of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by Dariusz Szymczycha; place and date not given: "Various Ways To A Market Economy".]

[Text] [Szymczycha] There is now only one minister in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet who admits to belonging to a left-wing party. Therefore, the question about the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic's [SDRP] attitude toward the government arises. During its recent session, the Supreme Council wondered whether the SDRP will join the opposition.

[Miller] We will certainly not be a destructive opposition. The philosophy of "the worse it is, the better," a new tradition in Poland, is alien to us and will remain so. We do not intend to wait until the government makes a mistake, and we do not want to make malicious remarks about its misfortunes.

[Szymczycha] That would be quite a simple and effective way of acquiring political capital.

[Miller] The SDRP said at its congress that it will not place its own party interests above those of society and the state.

[Szymczycha] So you will render silent and unconditional support to the Mazowiecki Government?

[Miller] Never. A fully-fledged party has to have its own views and suggestions on how to solve political and socioeconomic matters.

We support the government in everything that encourages democracy, the rule of law, and pluralism. At the same time, we oppose any race toward a new power monopoly or information monopoly. In a nutshell, we will combat any tendency to create a new leading national force that would exercise monopoly over national interests.

In the socioeconomic sphere, we intend to prepare a social-democratic alternative for the neo-liberals. We do not agree with the declarations by the new economic rulers whereby the state should merely observe economic phenomena. We think the state should take an active part in this process, especially at such a time of socially expensive economic reform. While approving of a pluralistic approach toward forms of ownership, we cannot fail to notice a new kind of doctrinairism that places one type of ownership above all the others. I mean private ownership.

[Szymczycha] So one can expect you to adopt parts of the economic program of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] to suit the needs of the SDRP?

[Miller] I do not think anyone wants the SDRP to be an extension of the trade unions.

[Szymczycha] In that case, what are the two senior OPZZ representatives, whom you recommended for the Central Executive Committee, going to do?

[Miller] Their experience and organizational know-how, as well as their knowledge of workers' communities, will be very useful in building up the party. We will also listen to the suggestions and assessments which they submit to the SDRP leadership on behalf of the OPZZ. So one can expect trade union postulates to play a major role in creating an SDRP concept of state social policy. These postulates will certainly strengthen us in our conviction that unemployment cannot be a permanent component of the economic system that is taking shape. On the other hand, the trade unionists will certainly not create an entire economic program for us.

[Szymczycha] However, it is naive to think that the SDRP's alternative economic program will be a "social-democratic" program to the very bone. Affluent capitalist countries have such programs, not countries like Poland.

[Miller] Nevertheless, this will be a program with a social-democratic character. Its leading principle will be the conviction that the economic objectives called for in the Balcerowicz plan can and should be achieved in a different way. The social costs of this program should also be distributed differently.

[Szymczycha] But people say there is no viable alternative to the Balcerowicz program.

[Miller] That is not true. There are various paths leading to a highly-efficient market economy based on economic principles. For example, the "Solidarity" proposals that formed part of the election program before 4 June 1989 could have been a program in themselves. Now too, "Solidarity" economists are criticizing the government program. Let me mention as examples articles by Rafal Krawczyk, Ryszard Bugaj, Jan Dziewulski, and others.

[Szymczycha] All right, but who is capable of quickly drafting an SDRP-inspired alternative reform program?

[Miller] Many distinguished economists, including ones from the younger generation, have already written articles. I hope the fruit of their labors will be published soon.

Government Agriculture Program Criticized

LD2302175490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1707 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] A statement from the Agriculture and Food Management Commission, presented at today's Sejm debate on the budget, states that the specific problems of agriculture have not been taken into consideration in the assumptions of the government's economic program. The commission requests the setting up of low interest credits for farmers, the promotion of agricultural food exports, and the correct functioning of the Agricultural Market Agency [government agency set up recently to monitor and intervene in the agricultural economy]. Deputies taking part in the debate stated many times that criticism of the government's agricultural policy is growing among the rural population.

The Ministry of National Defense's expenditures were also criticized with attention being drawn to the Army's poor technical state and the shortage of modern equipment, while the ministry spends 65 percent of its budget on food, salaries for staff, and similar items.

Walesa Appoints Najder to Solidarity Post

LD2302225690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] In connection with the need to stimulate and coordinate actions in preparation for the elections for self-government, Lech Walesa entrusted Zdzislaw Najder with the function of leading the work of the NSZZ [Independent Self Governing Trade Union] Solidarity Chairman's Citizens Committee.

Agreement Reached on Former PZPR Property

LD2402111390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The government's commission on property belonging to political parties, and the commission of the Supreme Council of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic in charge of property belonging to the former

Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] held a joint session. Agreement was reached on approximately 1,600 buildings and premises: They will be handed over to the local authorities. Information on some property belonging to the former PZPR was found to be inaccurate. This issue will be discussed during the next session, which will be held on 28 February. The government commissions plan to have their work completed within the time frame stipulated in the Sejm resolution—31 March.

* SDRP Leadership: Organs, Membership Bios

90EP0321A Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 31 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Unattributed report: "Results of the Election of Authorities of the Social Democrats of the Republic of Poland"]

[Text]

Supreme Council

1. Achranowicz, Waldemar (349 votes—41, deputy chief of the Torun main railroad station of the Polish State Railways)

2. Andrusiewicz, Piotr (653 votes—30, academic instructor at the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] Krakow)

3. Antoniuk, Wiktor (675 votes—48, private farmer, Zlotniki, Bialystok Voivodship)

4. Antoszewski, Andrzej (374 votes—46, senior foreman at the Florian Iron Mill, Swietochlowice, Katowice Voivodship)

5. Augustyn, Ryszard (357 votes—45, journalist of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA)

6. Banko, Franciszek (330 votes—47, senior foreman in the Hard Coal Mine "Barbara-Chorzow")

7. Baraniecki, Andrzej (363 votes—56, academic instructor at the AR [Agricultural Academy] in Poznan)

8. Bloch, Andrzej (738 votes—52, deputy, director of the LZPG [Lodz Rubber Industry Enterprises] "Fagum-Stomil," Lodz)

9. Borowski, Marek (646 votes—44, undersecretary of state, Ministry of Domestic Trade)

10. Chudy, Janusz (331 votes—41, electrician at the ZPL [Flax Industry Enterprise] "Lenpol" in Szczytno, Olsztyn Voivodship)

11. Ciemniak, Grazyna (425 votes—42, laboratory chief at the "Organika-Zachem" Chemical Enterprise, Bydgoszcz)

12. Cierpisz, Eugeniusz (369 votes—47, chief of quality control at the ZUK [Computer Equipment Enterprise] "Mera-Elzab" in Zabrze, Katowice Voivodship)

13. Cieslik, Jerzy (324 votes—36, chief ranger at the NP [State Forest Inspectorate] Podanin, Pila Voivodship)

14. Ciesniarski, Krzysztof (352 votes—34, first secretary of the former PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Enterprise Committee of the Construction Works, Radom)

15. Czajkowski, Waldemar (606 votes—35, lecturer at the Technical University of Silesia, Katowice Voivodship)

16. Czerniawski, Mieczyslaw (761 votes—42, deputy, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lomza)

17. Demkowicz, Adam (347 votes—29, production foreman at the Rolling Stock Repair Enterprise, Warsaw)

18. Dykowska, Danuta (724 votes—37, reporter, Polish Radio, Warsaw)

19. Gabrielski, Stanislaw (777 votes—46, Sejm deputy, Lomza Voivodship)

20. Garstka, Wojciech (655 votes—43, press spokesman, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Warsaw)

21. Gdula, Andrzej (375 votes—48, department head of the former PZPR Central Committee, Bielsko Biala Voivodship)

22. Grodzicki, Ryszard (606 votes—42, academic instructor, University of Warsaw)

23. Grzybowski, Leszek (330 votes—45, head of the Secretariat of the former PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw)

24. Hamerski, Jan (659 votes—44, metal worker at the ZRG [Mining Operations Enterprise] "ROW-Rybnik" [Rybnik Coal District], Katowice Voivodship)

25. Hejny, Ludwik, (635 votes—42, academic instructor, at the Bielsko Biala branch of the Technical University of Lodz in Bielsko Biala)

26. Janik, Krzysztof (376 votes—40, Intelligentsia Commission secretary of the former PZPR Central Committee, Tarnow Voivodship)

27. Iwinski, Tadeusz (757 votes—46, professor at the Academy of Social Sciences, Warsaw)

28. Januszczyk, Wladyslaw (621 votes—33, shop chief at the Chemical Enterprise "Oswiecim," Bielsko Biala Voivodship)

29. Jaskiewicz, Leszek (687 votes—45, academic instructor, University of Warsaw)

30. Jaeschke, Andrzej (583 votes—37, academic instructor at the WSP [Higher School of Education] Krakow)

31. Judzinski, Andrzej (336 votes—38, first secretary of the former PZPR Enterprise Committee at the LFZB [Lubuska Cotton Combing Enterprise] in Zielona Gora)

32. Kaczmarek, Bogdan (442 votes—34, chairman, youth department at the former PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw)

33. Kaczmarek, Michal (626 votes—41, technician-mechanic, ZMMR [Agricultural Equipment Mechanical Enterprise] in Kutno, Plock Voivodship)

34. Kaczmarek, Wieslaw (681 votes—32, Sejm deputy; instructor at Warsaw Institute of Technology; deputy director, P-HIZ [PIHZ—Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade])

35. Kaliszewski, Andrzej (321 votes—38, department head for instructors-methods specialists at the WOM [Voivodship Professional Improvement Center], Ciechanow)

36. Kobielski, Andrzej (533 votes—42, academic instructor at the Krakow Institute of Technology)

37. Kochanowski, Mieczyslaw (630 votes—56, director of the Environmental Protection Institute, Gdansk)

38. Kocjan, Jacek (647 votes—35, director of the ZW-P [Lime and Sand Enterprise] "Silikat" in Klucze, Katowice Voivodship)

39. Kondusza, Wojciech (553 votes—41, functionary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee in Legnica)

40. Korzeniowski, Leszek (344 votes—39, lecturer at the Center for the Professional Improvement of Teachers in Nowy Sacz)

41. Koszada, Aleksander (329 votes—41, senior foreman at the ZPR [Radio Sub-assembly Enterprise] "Miflex" in Kutno, Plock Voivodship)

42. Kozlowski, Edmund (343 votes—52, owner of a bakery in Narzyn, Ciechanow Voivodship)

43. Kratiuk, Andrzej (650 votes—34, research associate at the Higher School of Planning and Statistics, Warsaw)

44. Krokoszynski, Wojciech (624 votes—43, teacher at the ZSZ [Vocational Schools Group] and TZ [Technical High School] in Plock)

45. Krzywicky, Zbigniew (704 votes—42, journalist, GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA, Bialystok)

46. Kuczynski, Marek (320 votes—38, scientific secretary of the Academy of Social Sciences, Warsaw)

47. Kurkowski, Alfred (333 votes—33, deputy shop chief at the "Zawiercie" Iron Mill, Katowice Voivodship)

48. Kwapich, Edyta (465 votes—19, student, General Secondary School in Zary, Zielona Gora Voivodship)

49. Kwasniewski, Aleksander (36, chairman of the Committee for Youth Affairs and Physical Culture (elected directly by the Congress as chairman of the Main Council)

50. Lipiec, Jozef (753 votes—48, professor of the Jagiellonian University, Krakow)

51. Lukasiewicz, Ryszard (318 votes—46, editor in chief of EXPRESS WIECZORNY, Warsaw)

52. Lukawski, Ryszard (320 votes—43, deputy shop chief at the Bierut Iron Mill in Sosnowiec, Katowice Voivodship)

53. Malecki, Jerzy (709 votes—39, chairman of the board of the Agricultural Producer Cooperative Rusiborz-Dominowo, Poznan Voivodship)

54. Matuszak, Grzegorz (351 votes—academic instructor, Center of Cadre Training in Lodz)

55. Matusiewicz, Waldemar (648 votes—32, electrical engineer at the Belchatow power station, Piotrkow Voivodship)

56. Michalski, Marek (345 votes—34, senior foreman at the SZPG [Sanok Rubber Industry Enterprise] in Sanok, Krosno Voivodship)

57. Michalszyn, Jan (586 votes—36, deputy director of the State Farm in Rabin, Koszalin Voivodship)

58. Miller, Leszek (44, secretary of the former PZPR Central Committee, Skierniewice Voivodship—elected directly by the congress to the post of general secretary)

59. Nalecz, Tomasz (542 votes—41, associate professor at the University of Warsaw)

60. Nowak, Marek (581 votes—43, secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Kalisz)

61. Nuckowski, Julian (336 votes—35, deputy chairman of the Committee for Youth Affairs and Physical Culture, Przemysl Voivodship)

62. Oleksy, Jozef (753 votes—44, Sejm deputy, Biala Podlaska Voivodship)

63. Olszewski, Wieslaw (317 votes—34, academic instructor at the UAM [Adam Mickiewicz University], Poznan)

64. Opara, Stefan (320 votes—45, secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee in Warsaw)

65. Paprotny, Wojciech (556 votes—32, farmer, Siedlce Voivodship)

66. Pawlik, Wieslaw (604 votes—34, first secretary of the former PZPR Enterprise Committee at the Commercial Sea Port in Gdynia, Gdansk Voivodship)

67. Piechota, Jacek (720 votes—31, deputy, commandant of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] Troop, Szczecin)

68. Proszowska, Joanna (438 votes—41, deputy, chief specialist of the KPH [Iron and Steel Industry Combine] Stalowa Wola, Tarnobrzeg Voivodship)

69. Reczek, Jan (616 votes—38, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Tarnobrzeg)

70. Rykowski, Zbyslaw (660 votes—45, historian, essayist, Warsaw)

71. Saklak, Marian (595 votes—43, foreman at the Iron and Steel Industry Repair Enterprise, Krakow Voivodship)

72. Sekula, Ireneusz (895 votes—47, Sejm deputy, Katowice Voivodship)

73. Sierakowska, Izabella (774 votes—44, Sejm deputy, chairman of the city chapter of the ZNP [Polish Teachers Union], Lublin)

74. Sikora, Zbigniew (335 votes—41, dispatcher at the Baildon Steel Mill, Katowice)

75. Siemiatkowski, Zbigniew (646 votes—33, academic instructor at the University of Warsaw)

76. Siwiec, Marek (673 votes—35, editor in chief of ITD, Warsaw)

77. Skowronski, Stanislaw (502 votes—45, mechanic at the "Poludnie" ZTK [Railway Transportation Enterprise], Rybnik, Katowice Voivodship)

78. Sobotka, Zbigniew (753 votes—38, Sejm deputy, candidate member of the former PZPR Politburo, first secretary of the former PZPR Factory Committee at the Warsaw Iron and Steel Mill)

79. Sokolowska, Wanda (715 votes—50, Sejm deputy, director of the Group of Medical Schools in Plock)

80. Solomianko, Waldemar (559 votes—39, technology specialist at the ZPT [Association of the Telecommunications Industry] Unitra-Biazet in Bialystok)

81. Stec, Jan (603 votes—49, officer of the Polish Armed Forces, Warsaw)

82. Stryjski, Karol (619 votes—43, academic instructor at the Technical University of Lodz)

83. Szarawarski, Andrzej (555 votes—42, chairman of the former PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], member Voivodship Council, Katowice)

84. Sleziak, Czeslaw (532 votes—47, secretary of the former PZPR City Committee, Katowice)

85. Tabkowski, Slawomir (404 votes—50, Krakow voivodship delegate, chairman of the RSW [Workers' Cooperative Publishing House] "P-K-R," Warsaw)

86. Ulicki, Ryszard (523 votes—47, editor in chief of the PR [Polish Radio] in Koszalin)

87. Urbanczyk, Andrzej (667 votes—44, editor in chief of ZDANIE, Krakow)

88. Urbanska, Bozena (459 votes—52, Sejm deputy, director of the Public Library in Sroda Wielkopolska, Poznan Voivodship)

89. Uzieblo, Jerzy (406 votes—48, deputy chairman of the OPZZ, Gdansk Voivodship)

90. Wiatr, Jerzy (406 votes—58, professor, University of Warsaw)

91. Wiatr, Slawomir (564 votes—37, Sejm deputy, secretary of the former PZPR Central Committee, Katowice Voivodship)

92. Wisniewski, Kazimierz (325 votes—42, first secretary of the former District Committee Warsaw-Wola)

93. Wisniewski, Jerzy (573 votes—47, deputy director of the ZNMR [Agricultural Machinery Repair Shop] in Rytwiany, Tarnobrzeg Voivodship)

94. Wojciechowski, Jerzy (317 votes—43, lecturer, Piotrkow Trybunalski branch of the J. Kochanowski WSP [Higher Education School of Kielce] in Piotrkow Trybunalski)

95. Zaborowski, Zbigniew (561 votes—32, political functionary, former PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice)

96. Zaleski, Boguslaw (606 votes—42, research associate at the University of Warsaw)

97. Zarzycki, Kazimierz (597 votes—51, editor in chief of TAK I NIE, Katowice)

98. Zemke, Janusz (669 votes—41, Sejm deputy, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee in Bydgoszcz)

99. Zwolinski, Marek (548 votes—47, instructor at the former city-and-gmina committee in Bystrzyca, Walbrzych Voivodship)

100. (the seat reserved for a representative of the Club of Deputies).

Members of the Supreme Council elected by secret ballot by voivodship delegate groups and the Polish Armed Forces delegates group:

101. Biala Podlaska—Jan Bajkowski, 31, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Voivodship Administration

102. Bialystok—Tadeusz Trojanowski, 40, chief of department at the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

103. Bielsko-Biala—Antoni Kobielusz, 43, chief of department at the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

104. Bydgoszcz—Norbert Krawczyk, 43, journalist, deputy editor in chief at a Polish Radio radio station

105. Chelm—Witold Grabos, 38, journalist, secretary of the editorial board of TYGODNIK CHELMSKI

106. Ciechanow—Bogdan Babicz, 40, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

107. Czestochowa—Marek Lewandowski, 42, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee

108. Elblag—Witold Gintowt-Dziewaltowski, 41, chairman of the board of the "Nad Jarem" Housing Cooperative in Elblag

109. Gdansk—Jan Iluk, 43, academic instructor, University of Gdansk

110. Gorzow Wielkopolski—Zdzislaw Jarmuzek, 56, director of the Hospital for Nervous System and Mental Illnesses in Miedzyrzecz

111. Jelenia Gora—Stanislaw Gwizda, 35, smelter, team leader at the Crystal Factory "Julia," in Pechowice

112. Kalisz—Seweryn Kaczmarek, 43, first secretary of the former PZPR Enterprise Committee of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] Junction in Ostrow Wielkopolski

113. Katowice—Jozef Grochowski, 44, first secretary of the former PZPR KR [as published; should be City Committee] in Wodzislaw Slaski

114. Kielce—Jozef Winiarski, 38, journalist, deputy editor in chief of SLOWO LUDU

115. Konin—Ryszard Prymus, 45, deputy chief of the Department for Protecting the Economy in the Voivodship WUSW [Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs], Konin

116. Koszalin—Jozef Lewandowski, 45, secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

117. Krakow—Tadeusz Popiela, 57, physician at the Medical Academy

118. Krosno—Ryszard Wasko, 37, senior foreman at the "Gamrat-Erg" Plastics Enterprise in Jaslo

119. Legnica—Wladyslaw Bartkowiak, 44, first secretary of the former KR [expansion unknown] in Lubin

120. Leszno—Zbigniew Grzelanczyk, 46, commissioner of the voivode, Voivodship Administration in Leszno

121. Lublin—Janusz Malinowski, 40, journalist, secretary of the SZANDAR LUDU editorial board

122. Lomza—Miroslaw Gregorczuk, 30, chairman of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] City-and-Gmina Administration in Wysokie Mazowieckie and chairman of the ZSMP Voivodship Board in Lomza

123. Lodz—Andrzej Peczak, 39, director of the Lodz Branch of the ELPOL concern

124. Nowy Sacz—Jerzy Lach, 34, technology specialist at the Rolling Stock Repair Enterprise in Nowy Sacz

125. Olsztyn—Leonard Kolakowski, 42, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Olsztyn

126. Opole—Jerzy Szteliga, 37, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

127. Ostroleka—Jerzy Glowacki, 43, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

128. Pila—Leszek Partyka, 35, teacher at the Elementary School in Kosztow

129. Piotrkow Trybunalski—Tadeusz Rozypara, 37, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Belchatow

130. Plock—Bogdan Gajewski, 45, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Kutno

131. Poznan—Zbigniew Plenzner, 50, physician, head of ward at the Voivodship Specialist Group for Lung Diseases and Tuberculosis

132. Przemysl—Krystian Mirski, 38, first secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Przemysl

133. Radom—Adam Wlodarczyk, 36, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

134. Rzeszow—Wieslaw Ciesielski, 37, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

135. Siedlce—Andrzej Ornat, 44, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

136. Sieradz—Irena Nowacka, 40, first secretary of the former PZPR City-and-Gmina Committee in Blaszki

137. Skierniewice—Andrzej Olszewski, 59, physician, head of ward at the City Hospital in Zyrardow

138. Slupsk—Franciszek Garszczynski, 50, academic instructor, Chair of Physics of the WSP [Higher School of Education] in Slupsk

139. Suwalki—Stanislaw Nowel, 44, director of the M. Konopnicka General Secondary School in Suwalki

140. Szczecin—Bogdan Jarocki, 44, lawyer, Pomeranian District Directorate of State Railways

141. Tarnobrzeg—Wieslaw Ufniarz, 41, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

142. Tarnow—Andrzej Tutaj, 39, chief of department at the Leather Industry Auxiliary Goods Enterprise in Tarnow

143. Torun—Zenon Piatkowski, 40, first secretary of the former PZPR Voivodship Committee

144. Walbrzych—Leslaw Lysiak, 37, director of the Youth Cultural Agency in Walbrzych

145. Warsaw—Andrzej Zelazowski, 46, first secretary of the former PZPR District Committee Warsaw-Ochota

146. Wloclawek—Roman Dworczak, 37, Citizens' Militia member, RUSW [Regional Office of Internal Affairs] Rypin

147. Wroclaw—Marek Mazurkiewicz, 59, academic instructor at the Wroclaw University

148. Zamosc—Marek Tecza, 33, department chief at the Power Utility Enterprise, Zamosc

149. Zielona Gora—Andrzej Brachmanski, 32, journalist of GAZETA LUBUSKA

150. Polish Armed Forces—Ryszard Bera, 33, officer of the Polish Armed Forces, Sochaczew

National Audit Commission

1. Bialy, Leszek (412 votes—50, teacher at the General Secondary School in Grojec, Radom Voivodship)

2. Bojarska, Ewa (551 votes—37, deputy director of the GZEAS [Gmina Department, Trabki Wielkie School Administration] in Trabki Wielkie, Gdansk Voivodship)

3. Brudnik, Wincenty (365 votes—33, labor inspector at the FMWiG [Drilling and Mining Equipment Factory] "Glinik" in Gorlice, Nowy Sacz Voivodship)

4. Jankowski, Ryszard (390 votes—42, manager, Row Agricultural Producers' Cooperative, Gorzow Voivodship)

5. Janczak, Maria (422 votes—38, manager of the MOPiW [Municipal Center for Ideological-Educational Work] in Czluchow, Slupsk Voivodship)

6. Kaminski, Andrzej (434 votes—39, shop manager at the FSO [Passenger Car Works] Branch Plant in Ciechanow)

7. Karczewska, Krystyna (447 votes—44, first secretary of the former PZPR enterprise committee, Lodz)

8. Kowalska, Anna (469 votes—43, first secretary of the former Gmina-and-City Committee in Dynow, Przemysl Voivodship)

9. Kowalska, Bronislawa (412 votes—35, teacher at Elementary School No 14 in Legnica)

10. Krasa, Krzysztof (390 votes—34, private farmer, Lublin Voivodship)

11. Kucharski, Stanislaw (438 votes—58, physician, director of the ZOZ [Health Care Team] in Swidnica, Walbrzych Voivodship)

12. Kurowski, Lech (391 votes—33, deputy director of the Preparatory School of Aviation in Zielona Gora)

13. Nowak, Krystyna (408 votes—40, first secretary of the former PZPR Gmina Committee in Widuchowa, Szczecin Voivodship)

14. Piotrowski, Andrzej (395 votes—40, craftsman, RWCh [Chemical Craftsman Shop] "Alchemik" in Inowroclaw, Bydgoszcz Voivodship)

15. Siwek, Juliusz (341 votes—35, secretary of the former PZPR Enterprise Committee at the Adamow Brown Coal Mine in Turek, Konin Voivodship)

National Party Court

1. Antoszewski, Zbigniew (362 votes—46, "Tour-Retour" Travel Agency, Lodz)

2. Bielicki, Jan (323 votes—43, chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the RPGKiM [Regional Municipal and Residential Services Enterprise] Employees, Grudziadz)

3. Darlak, Boleslaw (344 votes—41, director of the Cooperative Rural Construction Enterprise, Opole Voivodship)

4. Gibek, Miroslaw (354 votes—36, physician at the Jawor ZOZ [Health Care Team], Legnica Voivodship)

5. Giedrojc, Jerzy (328 votes—42, manager of the ZUS [Social Security Agency] Inspectorate in Rabka, Nowy Sacz Voivodship)

6. Jablonski, Stefan (339 votes—61, foreman at the Warsaw Steel Mill)

7. Jarguz, Alojzy (314 votes—56, retired, Suwalki Voivodship)

8. Kawecki, Mieczyslaw (364 votes—35, manager at the SZGN [Sanok Oil and Gas Extraction Enterprise], "Wielopole" Field, Krosno Voivodship)

9. Kornacki, Krzysztof (354 votes—41, Museum director at Kozlowka Palace, Lublin Voivodship)

10. Laudowicz, Tadeusz (371 votes—43, assessor of the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Poznan)

11. Malinowski, Marek (380 votes—47, editor in chief of TRYBUNA WALBRZYSKA)

12. Martynski, Tadeusz (311 votes—51, editor of the Enterprise Radio Station at the FFM [Metal Forms Factory] "Formet," Bydgoszcz Voivodship)

13. Nowicki, Tadeusz (354 votes—49, former deputy chairman of the PZPR Central Auditing-Control Commission, Radom Voivodship)

14. Polecka-Gryczan, Teresa (347 votes—40, secretary of the former PZPR City Committee in Lomza)

15. Starszak, Hipolit (371 votes—51, deputy Prosecutor General of the Republic of Poland, Siedlce Voivodship)

Foreign Minister Invites UN Election Observers

PM2702102690 Paris LE MONDE in French 25-26 Feb 90 p 3

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "Elections Could Be Monitored by United Nations"]

[Text] Bucharest—"We accept, and even approve of, the idea of international cooperation aimed at guaranteeing the correct preparation and smooth running of free and democratic elections in this country." Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, a professional diplomat and former interpreter to Ceausescu, suggested in Bucharest on the evening of Friday 23 February that there would be UN observers in Romania, on 20 May, for the first democratic election in half a century.

Mr. Celac says that he put forward the idea himself in New York, on 16 February, to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, and the latter "reacted positively." The Romanian Government, the minister added when speaking to a handful of foreign journalists in a room in government headquarters, which is now "protected" or at least surrounded by around 30 tanks on Victory Square, "is firmly committed to free, honest, and verifiable elections. We must make every effort to ensure that each citizen has the opportunity to express his choice without any restriction."

Mr. Celac, who speaks English, French, and Russian equally well, also said that the other 34 CSCE nations could each, if they wish, also send an observer in May. In addition, the minister continued, Romania "is seriously envisaging the possibility of rapidly applying to join the Council of Europe" in which several East European countries already have at least observer status. On the other hand, questioned on the possibility of leaving the Warsaw Pact, Mr. Celac does "not yet see any reason" for doing so, and did not conceal the Romanian Government's relative dissatisfaction with Washington.

For instance, with regard to the delay in the United States restoring the clause of most favored nation to Bucharest, Mr. Celac said: "For the long term, we expect only justice (from Washington—LE MONDE editor's note) and not special favors." Revealing in passing that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's pronouncement that, U.S. aid to Romania could not be loaded into cargo vessels for six to eight weeks' time, whether deliberately or not, highlighted Washington's serious reservations about the current government. It was already known that, during his visit to Bucharest several weeks ago, Mr. Baker spent twice as much time with the "historical" opposition parties—which seriously annoyed the government team, which is still talking about the "disdain" shown toward it—but it was not known that Washington was delaying the supplies of emergency aid to exert pressure.

"Frankly," Foreign Trade Minister Ion Aurol told REUTER a little earlier in the day, "I do not understand the U.S. Administration's position.... I do not know if we are progressing quickly enough (for Washington's liking—LE MONDE editor's note) but one thing is certain: We are not regressing, the democratization process in this country is irreversible." This is obviously not the view of everyone in a nation which bears the scars of 40 years of paranoid dictatorship.

For instance, the Orthodox Church, speaking through Gheorghe Calciu Dumatreasa, one of its most famous priests, does not have any confidence in the existing team. George Bush, the priest said on Friday, after celebrating a public mass "in memory of the heros" of the revolution, "is to make the restoration of the clause (of most favored nation—LE MONDE editor's note) for Romania dependent on the democratization of political life, which also means guaranteeing all citizens complete freedom of activity." The priest, who spent years in Ceausescu's prisons before fleeing to the United States and who was recently invited to the White House, added that the Church, "with its 10,000 priests and its 17 million faithful, has a role to play in the establishment of a truly democratic system."

Meanwhile, just before the weekend, the executive bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council, unanimously presented its first repressive bill to the 250 members of the provisional parliament. Drawn up after the violent attack on government headquarters last Sunday by demonstrators, who also attacked one of the two deputy prime ministers, this bill was adopted "by a large majority" after six hours of lively debate. It makes provision for sentences of between six months' and three years' imprisonment for those who break into "public buildings and the offices or buildings of political parties" and of between two and seven years' imprisonment for those who also use violence. Laws of this kind "exist in all democratic countries," a government member told us on Friday evening. In Romania, in the context of the extreme and widespread distrust of this post-revolutionary period, this bill is likely to generate some apprehension among all those—and there are many—who want to demonstrate against the government without necessarily destroying everything.

Foreign Minister Details Taiwan Position

AU2602195990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1839 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Statement on Taiwan by the Spokesman of the Foreign Ministry"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/2/1990—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is authorized to state that Romania recognizes only the existence of a single China, as the legal representative of the Chinese people, the issue of Taiwan being an internal affair of the People's Republic of China. Faithful to this stance in principle, Romania will not establish any official links with Taiwan.

Trade Minister Seeks Most-Favored-Nation Status

AU2702091690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Ioan Aurel has expressed the hope that the United States will find a way to urgently reinstitute the most-favored-nation status for Romania.

This would place our country within normal relations with the other states in the world and would increase national income, lead to an even balance, and contribute to our presence in the international market both as an exporter and importer.

In his statement, made after a news conference with Romanian and foreign journalists exclusively for our radio station, Mr. Ioan Aurel also spoke about Romania's cooperation with the developed countries such as France and the other countries of the EEC. He stressed that the diplomatic recognition of the Common Market will substantially increase our economic relations.

Trade Minister on 'Foreign Capital Investment'

AU2602125490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1112 GMT 26 Feb 90

["The Economy—Foreign Capital Investment?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/2/1990—Foreign capital investment in Romania may grow, Mr Alexandru Margaritescu, foreign trade minister, said. Negotiations are under way with many firms to set up joint ventures in various branches of the economy, he added. They can bring into the country key technologies, licenses, machinery, equipment, help a better use of the productive capacity and qualified work force. Foreign investment in Romania should be seen as a way of cooperation which is in agreement with the international division of labour, the minister stressed, it is not a threat to the national wealth, to its alienation and subordination.

Interior Minister on Domestic Situation

AU1402125790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Mihai Chitac by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas; place and date not given: "Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Russians... —The Policemen in Romania Can Speak in Their Mother Tongue"]

[Text] [Farkas] In your view, how is the current domestic situation and public safety in Romania? How many of the followers and armed lackeys of the former dictator are still in hiding? Is it possible that they are gathering in some sort of organization and preparing further terrorist actions or an attempt to restore the old ways?

[Chitac] The situation in Romania is improving steadily, and we can talk about a consolidation of the revolution. In accordance with the revolution's requirements, our police are in full control of the situation both in Bucharest and in the whole country. The police have been cleansed of the destructive elements that were left over from the Ceausescu dictatorship and which were still there in the first phase of the revolution. This now means full possession of political power. [sentence as published]

Although some members of the National Salvation Front Council in some cities and counties are being removed, and this reflects political instability, there has also been improvement in this area. New political parties are being formed, and we can consider the dictator's former party to be self-dissolved.

The police are in charge of public safety all over the country. We have reorganized our police from forces faithful to the revolution, and we have also completely separated our police from the security bodies, which were under the Army's authority.

No terrorist actions, not even individual terrorist actions, have been reported in the country in recent weeks. Although weapon fire could still be heard in the suburbs of Bucharest for two or three nights, there were no casualties in these skirmishes. According to our information, the terrorist groups have been eliminated. As I said before, we are in full control of the situation all over the country. We do not think it is possible for terrorist groups to reorganize, groups that would restore the old dictatorial regime. There is no such power that could suppress the revolution. Of course, individual actions could be carried out by fanatics and therefore the police continue to be on high alert.

[Farkas] How does the interior apparatus cooperate with the Army in avoiding problems and creating the conditions for a democratic development?

[Chitac] Our liberation revolution was fought by the people, primarily by young people. From the first hours, the Army supported the revolution by taking up combat positions. The soldiers carried out most complex actions in order to defeat the counterrevolution. The Interior Ministry bodies and troops cooperated steadily with the Army, and this cooperation continues. Naturally, after obtaining power, the police took control of public safety. However, there are still important buildings in the center of Bucharest which, precisely because of their importance, are defended by the Army.

[Farkas] In the past, national minorities, including the Hungarians, often complained that they could barely communicate with the policemen and the members of the administrative apparatus because these were only Romanians. Are you planning changes in this area, and, if so, what changes?

[Chitac] I consider the complaints of national minorities concerning their language difficulties to be totally justified. The dictatorship stirred these difficulties up. Therefore, as early as 1 January, we took measures to make sure that there are representatives of national minorities among the heads and members of the police in the areas inhabited by Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, and Russians, in their counties, cities, and villages. The implementation of these measures is currently under way, the population has welcomed the results achieved so far.

[Farkas] What is the situation at the borders? Have there been cases in which followers of the fallen regime tried to escape through the borders but were captured? In the peaceful future, do you intend to increase the number of border crossings in general, and on the Hungarian-Romanian border in particular?

[Chitac] After the revolution obtained political power and the councils of the National Salvation Front had been established, all the laws and regulations that hindered the establishment of good relations with our neighbors were eliminated. As a result, traffic has increased on our borders. The movement of persons and goods has increased considerably in both directions. For example, 175,000 persons arrived in Romania, and more than 177,000 people traveled out of Romania between 22 December 1989 and 22 January 1990. More than 2,200 Romanian citizens returned to Romania, including people of other nationalities, people who had left the country during the dictatorship.

We do not have information about any compromised people of the old regime leaving the country through our borders. Our new laws make it difficult for these criminals to leave the country.

We are ready to negotiate on opening new border crossing points between Romania and Hungary to further expand our relations.

Chitac Clarifies Role During Timisoara Unrest

AU1702185390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 17 Feb 90

["Colonel-General Mihai Chitac Makes Some Points"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/2/1990—Honouring a request of ROMPRES news agency, Romanian Minister of the Interior Colonel- General Mihai Chitac made some points on the questions raised during the talks held these days by Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu and a group of officers of 35 military units on his participation in the events in Timisoara which, added to intimations and statements by witnesses, allow for the following conclusions.

General M. Chitac arrived in Timisoara in the evening of 17 December 1989, after massive reprisals against demonstrators, many of them being killed, had already been carried out. In Timisoara, although he had not been entrusted with any mission by the late minister of defence Vasile Milea, he subordinated himself to the then chief of general staff General Stefan Guse. Together with the antichemical protection chief, Lieutenant Colonel Iuliu Elek, he assured that, to prevent the use of chemical weapons against demonstrators, he reported to Bucharest that Timisoara had no such weapons. After chemical weapons had been brought from Bucharest and Sibiu on 18 December, although Ion Coman, who was coordinating the reprisals, ordered their massive utilization, General Chitac ordered that only four tear gas grenades be used as far from demonstrators as possible.

From statements by and letters from witnesses in Timisoara it results that General Chitac disposed that the military should not oppose the demonstrators facilitating thus the fraternization of the soldiers with the population. He also recommended measures for the protection of people in case terrorist elements tried to blow up two chemicals works in Timisoara.

Enlarges Police Force

AU2602190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1721 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Statement by the Minister of the Interior"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/2/1990—During a press conference held in Bucharest on Monday the Minister of the Interior General Mihai Chitac, announced that the police force would be enlarged.

We are strengthening the police, stated the minister, so as to be able to meet all the obligations devolving on us from the law.

The minister also announced that more than 270 policemen were inquired in connection with their attitude toward the revolution and others for their moral conduct. More than half of the county police chiefs were replaced, while others are to be changed until it is established what they did during the events in December. We have in view a broader openness to the population to cooperate ever more closely in the fight gainst offence. In connection with its scope Mr. Colonel General Jean Moldovan, deputy minister of the interior and head of the General Police Inspectorate, specified that over the past two months the total number of discovered offences (as there are many still undiscovered) is of 2,622 of which 311 were against private persons (80 murders, 40 attempts of murder, 11 death-inflicting assaults, 65 rapes), 89 per cent of them being discovered and the guilty ones inquired.

As many as 696 offences againt public property and 701 against private property were also registered.

It was specified that 46 individuals, arrested for storming the government headquarters on 18 February who declared that they had been paid or bribed with money or cigarettes to take part in those acts were still inquired.

General Moldovan again called on those who still have weapons to turn them in no punitive measures being taken against them.

Voiculescu on Possible Resurgence of Iron Guard

AU2502161090 Paris AFP in English 0704 GMT 25 Feb 90

[By Jacques Boyer]

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 25 (AFP)—Romania will not see a major return to fascism, but extreme-right groups are seeking to destabilize the government with the complicity of the main opposition party, according to a senior official of the new regime. Deputy Premier Gelu Voican Voiculescu was speaking to Agence France-Presse after President Ion Iliescu, in the wake of an attack by rioters on the government building last week, hinted that former members of the fascist Iron Guard might have been behind it. Mr. Iliescu voiced fears in a speech to the legislative assembly that the Romanian fascist movement of the 1930s-40s might be trying to make a comeback.

Mr. Voican Voiculescu, who is in charge of the interior ministry and the police, commented: "The real strike force of the Iron Guard are dead. But it is possible that others could act in their name to spread the same ideas." He accused the main opposition group, the National Peasants Party (NPP), of flirting with neo-fascist organizations inspired by the Iron Guard or legionnaires who supported the military dictatorship of Marshal Ion Antonescu. After taking power the marshal turned against them, but went over to the Nazis from 1940 to 1944. Hitting out at what he said amounted to "an alliance of interests" between the NPP and the new-fascists, Mr. Voican said the NPP apparently supported satellite parties such as the Movement of Revolutionary Youth whose "violent and brutal" methods were inspired by the terrorism of the Iron Guard.

First results of an inquiry into the attack last Sunday on the government's headquarters during which Mr. Voican Voiculescu was taken aside and molested by demonstrators showed involvement by the Peasants Party, the minister said. He quoted from leaflets and statements made by people arrested after the incidents, the worst since December's revolution in which dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was toppled and executed. Leaflets and other printed material appeared with slogans by legionnaires and anti-semites, Mr. Voican Voiculescu declared. He recalled that a self-proclaimed fascist organization had made its appearance last week in a newspaper published in Bacau, 300 kilometres (190 miles) south of the capital. A communique signed "The Anti-Communist Army, Iron Guard" promised to wipe out all the forces of the left, adding: "The nation will again be ours. Heil Hitler! We shall conquer." Mr. Voican Voiculescu commented dryly: "These are little indications that something is going on."

Like him, however, most government and opposition officials rule out a return en masse by the old demons. Radu Campeanu, leader of the National Liberal Party, told the official Rompres news agency: "I believe some survivors still exist, but I do not believe in the existence of the Iron Guard."

Mr. Voican Voiculescu said the leaders of last Sunday's riot had escaped. Recalling that he had been hit and spat upon, he added: "I saw them. If I spot them again, I won't let them get away."

Post Revolution 'Euphoria' Leads to Crisis

AU2302200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1734 GMT 23 Feb 90

["Agora—The Mexican Story"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—"Could the revolution end up in guerrilla warfare?" That is the question that Octavian Paler asks Friday in the editorial of the independent "ROMANIA LIBERA" daily "featuring opinions, information and stories."

The political atmosphere is poisonous, the author notes. Hatred of the dictatorship has built up and is aimed at random now that its object is gone. All political forces keep speaking about martyrs but are afraid lest others should overtake them in the assault on power. The euphoria of the early post-revolution days has given way to a dangerous state of social and political crisis.

This situation is likened by the writer to the Mexican with a splitting headache who put a bullet into his head to get over with it, showing that it is the causes of the disease that must be treated, not its symptoms.

Since there is unanimous agreement that there is no reason why the ghost of communism should haunt Romania any longer, why are practical conclusions not being drawn? Octavian Paler asks.

Since everybody agrees that totalitarianism has ruined us, brought us to the brink of a national identity disaster, why does nobody say that any attempt to maintain totalitarian structures is an antinational, hence treacherous, policy?

Why could the Provisional National Unity Council not adopt a clear programme to eradicate the totalitarian structures and spirit, so that the election campaign itself be ridded of an extension, in any form, of the old regime?

Everything that jeopardizes our chances to build a true democracy takes us back, to the isolation-from-the-world inferno. Whoever puts Romanians against Romanians assumes tremendous responsibilities. After so many historic disgraces, it would be about time that the country's interests prevail over power interests, the author winds up.

Party Leader Coposu Responds to Critical Letter

AU1602223090 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Feb 90 p 2

[Letter from Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic), to ADEVARUL : "An Answer to Serious Questions"]

[Text] Mr. Director: ADEVARUL of Thursday, 1 February, published the open letter of interrogation addressed to me from Engineer Emil Ionescu.

This is my answer to his questions, which I would like you to publish in your paper:

Mr. Ionescu, I am glad that you think that I am an honest man. Honesty is something that we all need, particularly now.

We have never made and will never make the allocation of jobs conditional upon membership in the National Peasants Party [NPP] or to any other party. We believe that political affiliation is a matter of conscience which should not be reflected in people's work. You bring up the case of your father, who, you claim, was obliged to take a job in Bessarabia, scores of years ago, because he refused to join our party. Allow me to doubt the truthfulness of this statement. I cannot believe that a government would have interfered in such a matter as a job assignment for an agricultural engineer. As a matter of fact, I do not understand why you incriminate your father's assignment to such a beautiful and rich region, where he had the fortune of meeting your distinguished and peerless mother.

The "eye for an eye" principle you are referring to does not belong to our party. It is a principle abhorred by democracy and by the sentiment of respect for our fellow human beings. You are talking about some repressive groups which took revenge on the Hungarian population of the former Trei Scaune [Three Chairs] County in the autumn of 1944. The NPP had nothing to do with these groups and has always condemned and will further condemn any acts of personal revenge, even in extreme situations. All violations should be tried by lawyers and, if need be, punished in accordance with the law. Instead of bringing up such regrettable incidents, which were unfoundedly instigated by slanderous propaganda, it would be better to promote relations of friendship and good understanding between Romanians and Hungarians, rather than to stir up a troubled past, through insinuations that help no one.

You blame us for considering it necessary to resort to foreign aid for the recovery of our collapsed economy. You are free to dispute the usefulness of foreign investments. Maybe you have miraculous solutions for our recovery, through a policy of economic autarchy, closed borders, and isolation. We want to wage a democratic struggle to disseminate our program. Unfortunately, we are deprived of access to public opinion. We are being subjected to all kinds of harassment in connection with the publishing of our press and the dissemination of our ideas. We are in favor of intensive and advantageous cooperation and of exchanges of values with all countries. We want to send our meritorious students to study abroad. We want to participate in useful exchanges of experience with the advanced states and to send our future managers of economic and administrative branches for post-graduate specialization. We want to master and apply the objective laws of contemporary economic development.

We categorically reject anyone who buys endorsement and pays off demonstrators. The manipulation of the people's awareness, coupled with careerism, is a characteristic of totalitarian parties, which have done so much damage to our country, particularly to leading NPP members.

You claim that policy is a mask behind which economic interests are hiding. We are not hiding anything; we are openly stating our program.

You refer to the inherent risks of an unchecked transition to the market economy. Furious haste is alien to us. We are not putting pressure on anybody. We demonstrated for the separation of powers in the state and for an end to the monopoly of the powers in the state. We obtained the satisfaction we asked for.

On 29 January the NSF [National Salvation Front] organized antidemocratic demonstrations of pressure and intimidation, reminiscent of the horror of communist methods used in the fifties; these demonstrations were accompanied by insults, calumnies, threats, and aggression. We will not follow suit.

Toward the end of your letter, you give us the unsolicited advice of setting up a new party to replace the "historical" party, which, in your opinion (full of false presumptions), has allegedly excluded itself completely from our political life.

The NPP was created from the National Party of the Romanians of Ardeal, headed by Iuliu Maniu, and the Peasants Party of the old kingdom, led by Ion Mihalache. We were banned in 1947 and thrown in jail. We reinstated our party on 22 December 1989. We have no reason to create a new party. We are not tempted by neocommunist innovations. We believe that it is good to stay anchored in the Romanian traditions. He who does not respect the past is not worthy of tackling the future. One should master all that is new in science, technics, and technology and apply it boldly. Profitability and well-being are being achieved today through brain power, rather than manual effort. We want to achieve parity between our party's goals and the Romanian people's major interests. Our interests should be subordinated to the interests of the sovereign people. Our party believes it is its duty to promptly meet the whole country's aspirations for a better life and to honor the public's endorsement received from the majority of honest and freedom-loving people.

Coposu on Party, Economic Issues

AU1602102790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic), by Cornelia Simionescu; place and date not given: "Political Vocation and Intuition" under the rubric "The Options of the New Political Parties and Formations"]

[Text] [Simionescu] Mr. Coposu, the first question I want to ask is connected with the name of your party. It suggests the idea that your party is open only to a certain social class.

[Coposu] It goes without saying that the branches of our party in Transylvania and old Romania—which is the oldest in the history of Romania—appealed primarily to the peasantry, with the aim of protecting its interests. In the province of Transylvania, which was under foreign domination, these interests coincided with the very aspirations for freedom and national unity. We were an agrarian state and, as is known, the peasantry did not have a decisive say in public affairs.

[Simionescu] Which categories of the peasantry does your party program primarily bear in mind?

[Coposu] Our party's pressing aim was to protect the interests of the poor peasantry, and also those who were the wealthy farmers of villages (later called kulaks), because we did not promote class antagonism in the ranks of those categories. On close examination, one can note that, apart from the social suprastructure which was always kept aloof, the National Peasants Party has always been a political organization for all social classes and strata in Romania. Our ranks included an important number of workers for whom a parallel workers organization was set up. We promoted the emancipation of women, thus creating a further parallel organization in this sense. Our party's activity was primarily based on youth. Throughout the country there was a strong youth organization with very many subdivisions. In 1947, when the party was dismantled by the communist dictatorship, the National Peasants Party incorporated 2,125,000 members. The number of our followers, who were arrested and tortured in prisons afterward, totaled 300,000 and the proportion of those who survived is only 20 percent. Those of us who were then young or in the prime of their maturity, are old people today.

[Simionescu] The country is going through a particularly critical situation, especially from an economic viewpoint. What solutions and prospects do you visualize?

[Coposu] We have manpower, we have Romanian intelligence, and we have organizers. However, the conditions for manufacturing satisfactory industrial products are disastrous. Our equipment, machinetools, and technologies are suffering from an acute moral wear and tear, not to mention the physical one. In order to procure new ones and to bring industry back on a normal path, we need capital; however, given the period of unrest we are going through, it is difficult to find people who are ready to make investments in our country. They have to be convinced of the stability and credibility of the political power.

[Simionescu] People have begun to worry because they think that there is an intention to alienate certain enterprises and to stop the production process, thus inevitably leading to unemployment.

[Coposu] Foreign investments—without which one cannot conceive of any modern industry, and which are practised on a large scale in the world economy—are far from causing any harm to our country. Within the framework of stock corporations, we have the right to ensure that the Romanian state is the holder of the majority of those stocks. We also have the possibility of involving the workers in the ownership of future industries as shareholders with actual ownership rights. There are various ways to make an industry profitable, which because of poor administration, or organization of production mechanisms, in the past, proved to be nonprofitable or bankrupt. Anyhow, there is no reason for concern that the restoration of the economy, with foreign capital in the Romanian economy, would be harmful for us or would pose a danger for the workers as some people groundlessly hold. After World War II we were able to see for ourselves the upsurge of a defeated and crushed Germany, which, through the investment of foreign capital, made a spectacular recovery, becoming the most powerful industry in Europe and the most prosperous country on our continent.

[Simionescu] What can we hope for in connection with restoring agriculture and improving our standard of living in accordance with your party program?

[Coposu] In our view, making agriculture profitable and ensuring agricultural produce for urban markets can be achieved by encouraging peasant-type farms. Lands were taken away from the peasants, but collective systems yielded no results. The great majority of residents in villages, although they kept plots of land or spent the day working in agricultural production cooperatives, founded their income on what they earned in industry where appropriations were much above requirements. In order to make the peasants return to their native place, it is absolutely necessary to return lands to the peasants as full owners. An ideal agricultural structure would be farms as a limited property that will not permit the accumulation of land. I am talking about creating plots of land whose size will be established in accordance with geographical aspects, soil quality, and with the way the given plot of land is suitable for certain crops. In this sense, there are multiple differences and therefore no a priori provisions can be suggested. The ideal plot of land would be the one that could be farmed by a peasant family, without foreign manpower, but with the help of modern agricultural equipment that should be delivered to the owners of land on the basis of long-term credits. Our basic criterion envisages relieving peasants of any obligation— delivering a certain quota to the state and

growing crops imposed on them. Certainly, restoring the peasants' rights can be done only gradually, because any hasty and insufficiently studied measure could cause an essential disturbance in our agricultural production. We have to give the peasant back the feeling of being an independent producer, the master of his land, and of the fruits of his work.

[Simionescu] Do you trust the political judgment of those who tomorrow will be the voters?

[Coposu] I want to express great hope and full trust in the Romanian people's realism and judgment. We have a natural political talent, I should say, enabling us to perceive events by intuition. We have had people adhere to our party who had no political culture whatsoever, who had learned Roller's history [name unknown], a history full of blanks, people who could neither get in touch with Western countries nor with the experience of the modern era, but who, through intuition, felt attracted to the political phenomenon. What is obvious is the people's curiosity and desire to learn, a desire to which the political parties have to respond with all their goodwill. Unfortunately, the malevolent complex instilled into people throughout the long years of the dictatorship still persists and it is difficult to get rid of it. The obligation to hide your thoughts, to guard against your fellow human beings, viewing them as dangerous for your own freedom and quietude, and the obligation to behave in one way at home and with friends whom you trust, and in another way in your job or in society spells nothing else but a split personality. The moment this complex is overcome, both the collective as a whole and the individuals in its composition will be able to free themselves from fear; then we will view ourselves as people living a normal life in a Romanian society proceeding along the road of democratic opening.

Peasants Party Claims Most Members

AU1902135490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1102 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/2/1990—As many as 44 parties were registered until Friday, 16 February at the Bucharest City Tribunal.

A survey of their list, carried by the leading papers in Romania's capital city, shows that:

On registration day the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party (president Corneliu Coposu) had the largest number of adherents (430); it is followed by the Democratic Union Party of Moldova (headquartered in Iasi, president Maftei Dumitru Corveni) and the National Salvation Front (president Ion Iliescu) with 365 adherents; another four parties had over 300 members; 23 parties had between 251 (the minimum number of members) and 260 members.

On the registration day the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party had the largest funds (102,000 lei), followed by the Romanian Ecologist Party and the National Liberal Party (32,000 and 30,000 lei respectively); a number of six parties had up to 1,000 lei and another three did not mention the funds they had.

Another two parties have applied for registration. Therefore their number will be 44 " 2 " x ; ? [44 registered parties, plus two other parties that have applied for registration, plus any parties that have not yet applied for registration, equals an undetermined number]. This question mark cannot be replaced by a figure yet. Not even a rough answer could be given. Political observers assess that the number of registration applications will increase.

Party Needs Time, Experience

AU2102103990 Bucharst ROMPRES in English 0850 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Political Life—Opposition Is the Chance of the National Peasants Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—This assessment was made by Mr N. Carandino, honorary director of daily "DREPTATEA," in an interview granted to Bucharest daily "DIMINEATA." "It would not be advisable to win the elections," he went on, as "the current problems are too numerous and too complex" and we need time, political experience and homogeneousness as a party to solve them. He explained this lack of homogeneousness through the fact that the leaders of the party still alive are "too old" and the young ones, too thirsty for power, mind their own business.

Mr Carandino assessed that "the idea of democracy imparts continuity to the orientation of the historical parties," "but life refuses rigid principles" and what matters today is "the way in which we aspire to achieve democracy." But, in assessing the parties' programmes, he said, "we cannot ignore the fact that this country, this people have changed a lot along 45 years," that "the peasants are no longer the force they used to be" many of them becoming workers and intellectuals. Since "suffering has generated numerous changes in the psychology of the Romanians, in their way of accepting and rejecting certain ideas," the people being "acutely afraid not to be deceived again" Mr Carandino opines that to save the country "we need more sincerity and less politicianism."

Party Membership, Security Viewed

AU2602162390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The number of members who have joined the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) amounts to more than 400,000, stated Mr. Ioan Lup, general secretary of this political formation, whose branches exist in all counties throughout the country, that is in almost all communes.

He added that of late, any kind of attacks against the party's headquarters have lessened in intensity, and

assurances have been given by General Jean Moldoveanu, deputy minister of interior and chief of the General Police Inspectorate, and Colonel Marian Lazar, who is in charge of ensuring that the headquarters of political parties are guarded, that appropriate measures have been taken to ensure a normal activity.

The general secretary of the National Peasants Party (Christian Democratic) expressed the hope that an atmosphere free from any tension generated, by some elements, will prevail.

Magyar Education in Tirgu Mures Approved

LD1002225190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] My colleague, Peter Szorenyi, returned today from Transylvania. He made the following recording in Tirgu Mures' council headquarters, where Elod Kincses, County Mures vice president of the National Salvation Front, announced that there were new developments in connection with Magyar-language teaching:

[Begin recording] [Kincses, addressing crowd] As of 1 September, the Bolyai- Farkas public hall will operate as a Magyar school. [crowd shouts]

[Szorenyi] Elod Kincses is being attacked. The matter at hand is the ministry telex that was sent in the interest of separation [of Magyar from Romanian-language teaching]. [crowd shouts]

Mr. Kincses, are you not afraid, since a young student went into your office and told you to take care because you might perhaps be lynched outside on the square?

[Kincses] Please, well, unfortunately, I am afraid. I live here in Tirgu Mures; I see the passions that have been let loose. I see that I, at any cost, am the target. Perhaps this is because I consistently demand that the militiamen who beat to death the freedom-fighters on the night of 21-22 [January] be called to account and that they be sacked. Unfortunately, nearly everyone has remained in his position. People who were elected Central Committee members at the November congress and who did the horrible acrobatic trick—which made the whole world laugh—remain sitting in management, directors positions. If people like me are beaten to death, others who think like I do will not dare to take action. [end recording]

Vatra Romaneasca Holds Anti-Magyar Protest

LD1102232590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 90

[From "The Week" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Current reports from Transylvania indicate that after the hours of the revolution's victory, it takes enormous efforts, wisdom, insight and tolerance from both the Magyars and Romanians, to accomplish the revolution's minute tasks. Our correspondents returned from Tirgu Mures scarcely a few hours ago. [passage omitted on report from Sibiu, where the situation is described as calm, although the atmosphere is heightened by the trial of the accomplices of the Ceaucescu regime]

[Reporter] Tirgu Mures. The nationalistic society which calls itself Vatra Romaneasca, Romanian Hearth, and which has not yet been legally registered, is holding an anti-Magyar mass rally, in the sports hall. The press, foreign briefers and Romanian citizens with Magyar names have not been allowed in. Therefore, the film has been made in secret. The local cameraman is somewhere in the loft. Members from the Black Box [Hungarian independence video journal] somehow made some clips inside, during a speech.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation] Complete indifference is experienced as regards the interests of Transylvania's majority Romanians. We do not agree with the composition of the county leadership, and we cast doubt on its competence. Mr. Chairman [it is unclear who is being addressed], the very great responsibility which the revolution bestowed on you obligates you to take into account the situation which has developed, because it could lead to intervention in Romanian internal affairs and even to attacks against territorial integrity.

[Second unidentified speaker, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation] This could turn into bloodshed. However, there was enough of that during the days of the revolution. Let us wait for the relevant organs to intervene in order to resolve the critical situation which has developed in the region of Transylvania. [end recording]

[Reporter] The Romanian students march in the town's main square in order to protest against the reinstatement of the more than 400-year-old Bolyai Lyceum as a Magyar school:

[Begin recording] [Third unidentified speaker, in Hungarian] There is a sign, with Hungarian writing on one side and Romanian on the other. The Hungarian side says (?"two"], and the Romanian side says "Romania Libera." Well, the youngsters were turning the sign around; when the Hungarian writing was outside, and they tried to turn it around, the person concerned, Janos Szasz...

[Janos Szasz, in Hungarian] Janos Szasz: I intervened and said Boys, leave the sign alone, because the sign has not done anything.

[Third speaker] A captain, in military uniform, elbowed himself forward, and he attacked the guy. He began to shout at him: [words spoken in Romanian, followed by Hungarian translation] Do you believe in Christ or do you believe in that worm of a Laszlo Toekes?" And then he said: No problem, we shall take you away. And he

turned him around a bit, they took four-five steps, then he pushed him, and hit him on the head from behind.

[Fourth speaker, in Hungarian] I was lucky yesterday, because I managed to film a bit of yesterday's mass rally, but it appears that I did not get through today successfully. I was recognized, they began to shout: He is making films against us, he is the one who is falsifying the truth and is making films against us! Then the soldier grabbed my coat, and at the very minute I felt the blows on my back.

[Reporter] Who gave you the black eye?

[Fourth speaker] The people, not the military officer. The military officer prevented me from getting into the car.

[Reporter] [sound of chanting in the background] The crowd grows around the town hall: We shall not go away, we shall not go away, they chant. Inside, one of the three deputy ministers of education who has been sent out, Hans Otto Stamp, announces that as from 1 September the Bolyai Lyceum again will be a Magyar school. The reaction needs no translation. [booing heard from the crowd] One of the spokesmen for Vatra Romaneasca speaks now:

[Fifth speaker, Vatra Romaneasca spokesman, in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation] The request from the ministry for us to move the Romanian classes out of the Bolyai-Farkas Lyceum has been suspended, so this measure has been cancelled. The Bolyai-Farkas will function as a Magyar public hall as from 1 September.

[Reporter] There are shouts in the meantime: We do not agree with that. Wait a minute, says Colonel (Judea); the deputy minister of education, Hans Otto Stamp—I do not know why it is not a Romanian name which figures here—is signing it on 9 February 1990. Eloed Kincses [County Mures vice chairman of the National Salvation Front] has told me that he will not issue the names of the Romanian teachers who agree with the decision, because they would be lynched. I told him that we Romanians do not know of any case when the Romanians might have lynched someone, even less of Romanians lynching other Romanians, even if they were teachers who had betrayed our interests. [passage omitted on further report on the rally, in which unidentified speakers make more remarks along similar lines]

[Sixth speaker] The current situation in Tirgu Mures and this scandal concerning educational affairs to a large extent, if not entirely, is attributable to Mr. Kincses!

[Seventh, in Hungarian] The Romanian students from the Bolyai must not be moved out now during the school year. I did not consider this to be a humane solution, and I fought throughout so that this move should take place only during the summer holiday. I now dare say, with certainty, that it was a hoax when the three Romanian teachers from the Bolyai Lyceum came here, and after saying that they had previously passed this with the county school inspectorate, proposed that I should speak with Education Minister Sora and tell him he should send the telex for the Romanian students to go over from the Bolyai to the engineering school. In fact, their aims were to politically compromise two people: Mr. Minister Sora and myself. [end recording]

[Reporter] In the end, they did not allow the deputy minister to speak. The matter of the Bolyai school is, for the moment, cancelled! [word indistinct] This is what the organizers shouted from the balcony:

[Begin eighth speaker, in Hungarian] [sounds of bells pealing in background] The candle and the book, with which this crowd is now processing, properly speaks as the metaphorical sign of our intentions. We are now marching in order to verify again, en masse, to make it known to the country, the world, that the demands of the Magyar nationality in Romania are not in opposition to the country's laws, and they do not and can not, violate the Romanian nation's interests in any way. In Tirgu Mures recently, an atmosphere has been created, at the incitement of right-wing Romanian circles, which have led to atrocities and tragedies in past days. We are now demonstrating in silence against these phenomena, striving so that we should create a possibility for dialogue, so that through a sober exchange of views we should come to agreement in every regard. We are convinced that this serves not only the cause of the Magyars in Romania, not only the cause of the population of Transylvania or Tirgu Mures, but also that of the entire country. It is clear that this Romania, which, together with all the Romanian people, we want to lead back into Europe, will not get there without creating a system of rights, at a European level, for the national minorities. [end recording] [passage omitted on church service; announcer's closing remarks]

Romanian-Hungarian Friendship Society Established

LD1202173990 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, February 12 (MTI)—At the initiative of Romanian professionals, a Romanian-Hungarian Friendship Society has been set up in Timisoara. Half of the members are ethnic Romanians and the other half ethnic Hungarians.

The society seeks to strengthen fraternal friendship between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples, combat the harmful, nationalist trends, and establish and build confidence. The society is open to anyone who accepts the principles laid down in the rules.

The founding members are going to publish a periodical entitled "December 16" to make the Romanian people familiar with the full truth in the 'Hungarian affairs' since, during the dictatorial rule, the Romanian press used to portray the two nations' relationship in a biased and hostile way.

Hungarian Ethnic on 'Separatism' of Minorities

AU1402091390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 13 Feb 90

["A Separatism That Does Not Separate Us" - ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/2/1990—Separatism? Why not?, wonders Mr. Szilagyi N. Sandor, a worker at the "Kriterion" publishing house in Bucharest, in an article run by the independent daily ADEVARUL referring to the determination of the Magyar minority in Romania to promote the soonest possible settlement by the state authority of its specific problems, in accordance with the European norms of democracy.

In order that our individual and collective rights should not remain a dead letter, the author shows, we must reestablish our institutions destroyed in the last decades, and I mean more particularly the schooling network, from kindergartens to university. This separatism means nothing else but a revert to the natural condition in which the sides regain their functionality.

It is indeed a separatism but it is as necessary and justified as that reflected in the aspirations of the representatives of the Greek-Catholic Church to get out of its forced union with the Orthodox one.

In a postscript, the author of the article shows his conviction that no responsible man in Romania can interpret such a separatism as a territorial one.

Appeal for Ethnic Understanding in Transylvania

AU1602193790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1751 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/2/1990—An appeal to ethnic groups on the Romanian land of Transylvania released in Cluj on Friday, 16 February, by the local branch of the cultural union "Vatra Romaneasca" [Romanian Home] reads inter alia: We have lived together along centuries sharing the good and the bad, in brotherly understanding, but also in tension; but the wise heritage of the past, accepted by everybody, is that tolerance, good-will, understanding are much more profitable than confrontation; more than ever before, now when the principles of humanism and democracy triumph everywhere, we must all rally our efforts to build our homeland upon these principles: equality of rights for all citizens is the postulate we will observe always. We oppose any privileges on principle and in practice. We do not want them for us, the majority, and we do not accept them for anyone. Hence, the truth alone governs all our actions. Good-faith and mutual respect should underlie our dialogue in any circumstance and on any subject; we support all means of mutual knowledge from culture to culture, from spirit to spirit, sound foundation of true understanding. We are open to fair and principled dialogue.

Daily Warns Against Hasty Ethnic Decisions

AU2202192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1556 GMT 22 Feb 90

["Let Us Not Hasten"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/2/1990—In an article "ROMANIA LIBERA" runs in its 21 February issue, Octavian O. Ghibu, son of the fighter for national unity Onisifor Ghibu, reproaches the provisional government set up after the Romanian revolution with the "haste" with which it made certain decisions "under the pressure of people or groups of people who would like to see all their wishes fulfilled in no time."

He holds the view that the government itself should "understand and make others understand that, by being provisional, it cannot and has no right to take care of all problems," more particularly of those which "take a long time of study and reflection, being of a vital importance for the future development of the country."

One of them is the minorities' problem relating to which the recent "unsuccessful solutions" "have brought about worrisome tension among the population in Transylvania in particular." Octavian Ghibu reproaches some of his Magyar fellow citizens with the haste with which they plead for "separatism" in the sphere of education, reminding them that "the policy of isolation stimulated by some of the Magyar minority's leaders both between the two wars and after the Groza government came to power led to the creation of a climate of ever higher tension between Magyars and Romanians.

He opines that the "creation of an independent Magyar higher education and the absolute and total separation of schools according to national criteria" are conducive to tension and the experience of the 1950s and 1960s must not be repeated by the new generations.

Moreover, the "hasty" signing by the provisional government "on the very first days of the revolution" of "a declaration, alongside the leadership of the Magyar minority, which announces the setting up of the new Ministry of Minorities' Affairs" created "a genuine source of maintaining tension," he opines. Underscoring that in Romania "all citizens are equal before the law,", which does not require "a special lawyer who should uphold the minorities' wishes," O. Ghibu warns that "the experience acquired during the royal dictatorship by having such a ministry proved disastrous both for the unity of the country and the establishment of good relations between Romanians and the ethnic minorities."

Making an appeal to sincere dialogue, O. Ghibu shows in conclusion that from now on separatism "would bring about disquiet, suspicions and tension only to the satisfaction of our enemies."

Statement Delivered on Hungarian Textbooks

AU2202200290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 22 Feb 90

["The Ministry of Instruction Specifies"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/2/1990—In connection with a piece of news published a couple of days ago on the distribution of school books and of history and geography books in the Hungarian language to Transylvanian schools, the Ministry of Instruction announces that those books were brought into the country unofficially, and that the relevant Hungarian ministry is not responsible for that fact. The action was initiated by private persons who tendentiously attempted to divert the Romanian-Hungarian relationship from its positive course.

The Ministry of Instruction calls on all people of good faith, to all pre-school units to avoid such unclear situations and to contribute to good understanding, cooperation and friendship, to a true and valuable education, to the observance of all the rights of the minorities. Underlining its willingness to promote an open cooperation on all planes with its counterpart in the friendly neighbour country, the Ministry of Instruction stresses that text book donations and education policy information should be made only through its agency so as to avoid any confusion and suspicion as, for instance relative to entrance examinations.

It is the view of the ministry that cultural exchanges of books, ideas and professional experience are above politics and help understand reality, break no law and are not against the democratic spirit.

Kiraly Assesses Ethnic Minorities Commission

AU2202221690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 22 Feb 90

["The Questions of the National Minorities' Instruction and Culture in the Focus"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/2/1990—The Commission on National Minorities, an analysis body of the Provisional National Unity Council, met on February 22 to debate the problems of the national minorities' education and culture, as well as the answer of the government to the questions posed by the commission in a previously advanced note.

The participants included representatives of the legally constituted organizations and parties of the national minorities.

Since the government's representative did not attend, it was decided that the government be interpellated at the next meeting in plenum of the Provisional National Unity Council.

Asked to assess today's meeting, Mr Karoly Kiraly, chairman of the Commission on National Minorities, stated:

The impressions are fine. I am optimistic. Although the situation now is not as it should be, although the national feeling is debased, manipulated in some places, I am sure a fair settlement will be found, especially considering that the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council plans to discuss this question next week or at some other date soon and pass a law.

Formation of Magyar Parties, Leaders Announced

LD2302090190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] In Miecrurea Ciuc, the Magyar Smallholders' Party in Romania has been formed, whose chairman is farmer (Zoltan Eltes). In Odorheiu Secuiesc, the Magyar Christian Democratic Party has been created. Its leader is teacher and writer (Gyoregy Loerincz). Earlier, in Tirgu Mures, the Independent Magyar Party was created, and today it elected a new leadership. Thus far in Romania, over 40 parties and political organizations have been registered. In Sfintu Gheorghe, the Organization of Young Magyars has been restructured, and its name from now on is the Association of Magyar Youth Organizations.

Daily Calls for Transylvania Interethnic Dialogue

AU2402172990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Transylvania: A Dialogue Among People"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—"Rumors, suspicion, the chauvinistic trend of some public addresses or actions have fostered, in several counties in Transylvania, a certain state of tension between Romanians and Magyars who have been living together on this land for centuries" an article in "ROMANIA LIBERA" shows.

Pleading for a human dialogue between the Magyars and Romanians in this part of the country, the paper welcomes the debates in a recent meeting of the "Magyar-Romanian Democrat Association," in Cluj, as the paper points out, the meeting proceeded in the spirit of true and unrestrained democracy."

We mention that this association has been created recently by a group of Magyars and Romanians. Its program shows that democracy means inter-alia "to be able to listen, to understand different interests and viewpoints, to be able to conduct a dialogue... We who are convinced that Romanians and Magyars can live in brotherly cooperation to mutual advantage want to show that it is not polemics we contemplate but the bridge which links us."

Hungarian Party President Dismissed

AU2302173090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1516 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/2/1990—Mr Janos Vincze is dismissed from the office of president of the Magyar Independent Party, shows a statement the provisional leadership of this political grouping, now a co-presidency, sent to the news agency ROMPRES. Following this measure with "immediate effect" taken during a meeting held at that party's headquarters in Tirgu-Mures, Vincze loses all his functions, i.e. as member of the Provisional National Unity Council and of its Executive Bureau.

Mr Vincze had been denounced by the local and central press as a lawbreaker. According to the documents quoted by the press, he had been sentenced to four-and-a-half-years imprisonment for several offences as influence peddler. It was also proved that he motivated his appeal by claiming his capacity as official informer of the Militia with which he would have cooperated in trapping one of his colleagues at the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Cluj.

Eliminated from the Cluj County National Salvation Council whose member he had become in the first days after the revolution, Janos Vincze set up afterwards the above-mentioned party based in Tirgu- Mures. In his capacity as president of the party he also became a member of the Provisional National Unity Council.

As "ROMANIA LIBERA" reports, in a recent meeting of the Cluj County Provisional Council of National Unity, its members expressed their indignation at the fact that it was precisely Mr Vincze who was pleading, in his frequent addresses on the television, for the rights of the Magyar minorities in Romania.

'Club 22' To Ensure 'Revolution Martyrs' Memory

AU2402160590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0954 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Club 22"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—The "Club 22" has been set up in Bucharest as an apolitical organization, the declared purpose of which is to keep alive the memory of the revolution martyrs in Romania and give moral and material support to their families.

The organization rallies young and old, women and men, who actually participated in the December 22 1989 in overthrowing Ceausescu's dictatorship. Its programme includes organization of meetings, sociocultural and sports activities as well as cultural exchanges and swap of experience with various organizations abroad as a means of youth's opening to Europe and the world.

Hungarian Cultural 'Autonomy' Advocated

AU2402160790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Autonomy Yes, Separatism No"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—The remaking in Romania's instruction system of the network of tuition in the minorities' mother-tongue, a network existing parallel to that with tuition in Romanian, is an action that does not pursue separatism but only cultural autonomy, maintains Mr Janos Szasz, in his article "A Clarification: Separatism? No. Autonomy" in weekly "22."

Trying to elucidate the discussed question, the author notes that both networks are guided at a central level by the one and the same Ministry of Instruction, even if it works with the contribution of a Hungarian deputy minister and A German deputy minister. The curricula of the networks is essentially unitary plus specific elements emanating directly from the national characteristics without the nuances of those specificities meaning a separation from the Romanian culture but as the author puts it only "variations on the theme." These specificities are by no means "a branching out of separatism" having instead the quality of autonomous features. On saying that, the author mentions that "full autonomy in instruction, because of geographically wide dissemination of the minority, is" as the author euphemistically puts it "a utopia," but cultural autonomy is no utopia in spite of geographic dissemination. On the other hand, separatist systems mutually exclude while the autonomous one imply one another affirming tolerance and a positive inclination for intercommunication.

Neither Romanian nor the minorities culture was autonomous under dictatorship. The fear of cultural autonomy that went as far as mistaking it for separatism, shown by the dictatorship, derived from the camouflaged Stalinism of Marxism-Leninism, the author of the article maintains.

Meeting Views Obstacles to Minority Rights

LD2602033290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] According to Laszlo Tokes, the signs of a rollback are appearing in Romania. He said this at the mass celebrated on the occasion of the Sfintu Gheoghe consultation. Otto Oltvanyi reports on the closing day of the consultation among the Magyar Democratic Association of Romania [RMDSz].

[Begin Oltvanyi recording] Laszlo Tokes has been elected honorary president of this large organization of Romania's Magyardom. He was taking part in today's consultation as the Timisoara delegate of the Bansag RMDSz. Here they decided that Oradea will be the venue of the association's first congress, where the RMDSz's program and organizational rules will be

adopted. At the delegates' conference, the finding was emphasized that in Romania the process of a rollback is being experienced more and more, that obstacles have arisen in the way of the assertion of minority rights, and that in this situation the Magyardom of Romania must prepare for a struggle for self-defense, that with a united stance it must conduct further struggles for the elimination of the injuries caused under the dictatorship. [end recording]

Ecologists Publish First Issue of Weekly ECO

AU2602112390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0850 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Mass Media: ECO—A Review of Romanian Ecologists"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/2/1990—The first issue of the "ECO" weekly of ecological culture has been put out on Thursday. Its director is Mr. Toma George Maiorescu, president of the Ecological Movement of Romania [EMR], member of the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC].

Under the motto in the front page "A Clean Man in a Clean Country, in a Clean World," the weekly publishes the movement's platform-program, as well as an open letter to the PNUC members explaining the EMR standpoint on the proceedings of that so-called provisional mini-parliament. The eight pages also comprise articles, feature reports and commentaries presenting the condition of environment in Romania and the mission of the "greens" in the country and in the world. An extensive analysis is printed on the halting of environmental deterioration in the Danube Delta caused by the steps taken by the former dictatorship.

The editorial board is made up of academicians, professors and reputed experts in environmental matters.

Anti-Yugoslav Rally in Bulgaria Reported

AU2602152190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Several thousand participants in a meeting in Blagoevgrad demonstrated against the anti-Bulgarian campaign in Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian national agency reports. This is how the demand of the SFRY Assembly for the return of the deprived rights of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria and appeals concerning this issue that were recently made at a meeting in Skopje have been assessed there.

The claims that the inhabitants of the Pirin region are Bulgarian and that the term Macedonian is not at variance with the term Bulgarian were made again. The participants in the rally also sent a letter to the United Nations, the European Parliament, and the Assemblies of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Vajgl on Macedonian Question, Bulgaria, Greece

LD2202215290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia does not consider the expression of concern and support for Macedonians living outside their homeland as anti-Bulgarian, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference here today. Vajgl was responding to the question of the Sofia daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT's correspondent on the alleged "unprecedented anti-Bulgarian rally" held in Skopje on Tuesday.

Vajgl rejected the Bulgarian journalists's claims that the rally in the capital of the southernmost Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was contrary to the conclusions of the Balkan countries' foreign ministerial conference held in Belgrade two years ago.

Vajgl emphasized that Yugoslavia is following with concern the "nationalistic excesses" in Bulgaria which cannot be built into an atmosphere of tolerance and confidence and expressed the hope that Sofia realizes this. "Confidence can be achieved only if the process of democratization respects the rights members of other peoples," Vajgl said.

Vajgl also said that in talks between leader of the strongest Greek New Democracy Party Constantin Mitsotakis and Yugoslav officials in Belgrade yesterday, views on the Macedonian minority in Greece were not brought closer. He added only that in the exchange of views, the problem of the ethnic Macedonian minority and the treatment of the Macedonian language in Greece were discussed with great seriousness.

Defense Secretary Views Multiparty System

LD2602125390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1110 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, February 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav society has adopted by consensus the stand that it needs a multi-(?party system), so that there is no reason why the Yugoslav People's Army should now oppose such a choice, [word indistinct] Yugoslav defense secretary, Col-Gen. Simeon Buncic has stated in an interview published in the Yugoslav daily OSLOBODJENJE today.

Gen. Buncic specified that the Yugoslav People's Army is only drawing attention to the negative aspect of a multi-party system and to the lessons history has taught us in connection with it. He said that the Yugoslav People's Army is of the opinion that Yugoslav society "can lose more than gain with multi-party pluralism at the current stage of its development."

Gen. Buncic set out that the Yugoslav People's Army is carefully considering the conditions in which it can find itself in a multi- party system and that it will set certain rules of its own behaviour and activities in those conditions. "We feel, however, that a multi-party system will not and cannot for the time being influence our decision that the organization of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army continue to act."

Speaking about the rift in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) after the delegation of the League of Communists of the Republic of Slovenia walked out of the [word indistinct] 14th (?congress) because of disagreements over the party's future and relations within the federation, Gen. Buncic set out that the Yugoslav People's Army is for the expstence of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia but also its radical renewal, which he said must imply that all parts of the LCY (the Leagues of Communists of the Republics and Provinces and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army) reach accord on all major issues, without any of them imposing its own views on [word indistinct]

The assistant Yugoslav defense secretary said that the Yugoslav People's Army calls for the resumption of the special LCY Congress as soon as possible but that it is of the opinion that the congress should not be resumed simply at any cost and unless well prepared. "The (?worst) thing would be for us to have another meeting which would fail because it was not well prepared," Gen. Buncic set out.

Croatia LC Statement on Policy

LD2602222290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium and its president Ivica Racan, announced at a press conference that today's session established a draft

electoral program which will be sent to the Croatian LC Central Committee at a session scheduled for Saturday 3 March. There will also be discussion of this draft at a Croatian LC Conference on 10 March.

Racan set out the key specific features of the electoral program contained in "the statement for the public" of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, which also gives a critical reaction to and assessment of the first general council of the Croatian Democratic Community which ended yesterday.

Croatian LC policy starts from the fact, the statement says, that "the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia is the common homeland and the national state of the Croatian people and a state of the Serbian people in it, as well as of the parts of the other nations and nationalities living in the SR of Croatia. It is this as part of the common homeland and state of all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities."

The purpose of a national policy can only lie in bringing the people in whose name it is conducted into a society of developed and progressive nations, who have in common fundamental human rights and freedoms and institutions protecting and developing them, and the general benefits of modern civilization, culture, and science.

The Croatian LC is opposed to the anachronism of reducing national policy to the creation of "pure," closed, national states and societies. The Croatian League of Communists—Party of Democratic Change is against national exclusivity, intolerance, division, and conflict, but at the same time it advocates the comprehensive national development of each nation and nationality in the SR of Croatia and Yugoslavia. The SR of Croatia, the statement says, must develop a a progressive, democratic community, in which everyone would be glad to live and is glad to live and in which everyone feels good.

The Croat LC will work toward guaranteeing a peaceful transition to a democratic political system. Its commitment to a multiparty system and its readiness to be judged by the electorate have been demonstrated clearly and unambiguously. In this context the Croat LC is resolute in its view that all citizens, political parties and organizations, and members of all nations and nationalities must enjoy the legitimate and unassailable right to freely express their political views and show their party affiliations. The Croat LC will defend its stands publically on the political scene.

"We, the Croat League of Communists—the Party of Democratic Changes, as guardians of the democratic freedom-loving traditions in Croat and Yugoslav history and as an organization which independently embarked on its own radical democratic transformation, cannot remain silent in light of a possible rebirth of totalitarianism, from which ever quarters it came," the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium stresses in its statement.

We have opposed and will continue to oppose totalitarian tendencies outside the SR of Croatia. Our attitude is the same toward identical or similar developments inside the SR of Croatia. In view of the fact that the Croatian Democratic Community has become a legitimiate political party which can freely and publicly present its political views, the Croat LC has both the moral and political right to publicly state its own opinions on the Croat Democratic Community's stands.

"Our silence today in the aftermath of the Croatian Democratic Community's general assembly could be interpreted as an endorsement of that form of public activity and that atmosphere which inevitably lead to the destruction of the society's basic democratic values and which could threaten the process of introducing a democratic system."

The specter of the Croatian Democratic Community, its messages of hatred and new divisions, its disrespect for basic human rights, including the civil and national ones, its territorial claims to other parts of our country, must never leave us indifferent," the statement stresses.

Propagating a Greater Croatia, that is, Croatia "within its historical and natural borders," cannot be justified with similar calls for a Greater Serbia. Neo-Ustasa ideas cannot be justified with Neo-Chetnik ones, and vice versa. Both instigate national hatred and conflicts. In that context, promises to the Serbian and other nations living in the SR of Croatia regarding their rights are utterly cynical.

"Although each party has the right to formulate its own program and policy, no one has the right to frighten and theaten people and nations." The Croat people, the statement goes on to assert, did not accept the Independent Croat State as the expression of its historical aspiration to form its own independent state, what Dr Franjo Tudjman claims. We have heard the party which claims to represent interests of the Croat nation most crudely insult that nation itself. It looks as if the sinister thesis about the genocidal nature of the Croat people has gained another advocate.

"We feel the obligation, not as a party and even less as the party in power, but as a part of the democratic public, to stand up in defense of the Croat nation and its freedom-loving traditions. After many centuries of foreign occupation and after the painful experience with the Independent Croat State, which, to start with, sold off Croatia and then began with a pogrom of the Serbian people and with a merciless showdown with all Croats who rejected it—and they were a sizable majority—after a long period of time, the antifascist struggle brought freedom and a state to the Croat people. The fact that the Croat people, fighting together with the Serbian people, opted for a federal Croatia and fought for Yugoslavia, clearly federal and equal, is a result of legitimate decisions made by the people," the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium stresses.

To usurp AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and ZAVNOH [Regional Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Croatia] and connect them in some way with the Independent State of Croatia, is not only a deception. In the repeated advocacy, which we have listened to over the last two days, for an autonomous and independent Croatian state, which would also encompass parts of the territory of other republics and provinces, and with iconography and flags which annul this country's legal system and a legitimacy which it has not obtained from the people, the representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community portray themselves as "a party of dangerous intentions," the statement says, with the emphasis on the dangerous intentions "in accordance with the achieved level of democratic life and further democratic prospects, and in accordance with people's safety and the common life of all of us in the SR of Croatia and the SFRY."

We believe in democracy despite all the risks which its establishment brings, it is stressed at the end of the statement of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium. "We believe in the strength of democratic public opinion and in the rationality of citizens of the SR of Croatia. Today we are all responsible for a peaceful and better life, freedom and equality, and for the advancement and future of Croatia and of Yugoslavia. This statement is also an expression of this responsibility."

Slovenia Cuts Payments To Fund for Underdeveloped

LD2602155490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—The recent decision of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia that Slovenia should not pay some of its obligations into the fund for the underdeveloped was clarified today at a news conference given by Rudi Sepic, that republic's secretary for finance.

According to Sepic, of the outstanding debt of 353 million [currency not specified], Slovenia will not pay 170 million of funds earmarked as aid to Kosovo. Otherwise, Slovenia's obligations to the fund for the underdeveloped amount to 555 million, and so far this republic has paid 202 million.

Apart from this sum in aid to Kosovo, Slovenia will not pay a contribution of 157 million either. These are funds which, it is assessed here, go to the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to subsidize the economy and balance exchange rate differences and general and joint consumption.

This republic, it was said today, will not pay 109,000 dinars to Vojvodina to help compensate for damage caused by bad weather, nor (?2,818,000) dinars to Serbia. These funds intended for Serbia are supposed to be used to compensate for the consequences of the floods in 1988.

At the same time, the Slovene Exective Council has informed the Executive Councils of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina that it will adjust its obligations toward them.

Serbian Government Criticizes Slovenia

LD2602213690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2044 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 26 (TANJUG)—The Government of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia on Monday stated that the Slovenian Government, by deciding not to pay the sum allotted to Kosovo in its contribution to a federal fund for the underdeveloped parts of the country, grossly violates the functioning of the Yugoslav federation and the country's unified market, and jeopardizes the initiated political and economic reforms.

The Serbian Government expects that the federal government will take all the necessary steps to prevent the implementation of the onesided decision of Slovenia.

The Slovenian Government recently took the decision as a measure to counter Serbia's break of economic relations with Slovenia. Early in December last year, the Socialist Alliance of Serbia called on the firms in Serbia to break off relations with Slovenian firms owing to Slovenian support to Albanian separatists in the Province of Kosovo.

The economic conflict between the two republics, which was not ended even afer a meeting of their premiers, is accompanied with political recriminations. The two republics disagree in assessing the policy pursued in Kosovo. As regards their attitude to the federation, Serbia accuses Slovenia of confederalism, and Slovenia Serbia of unitarism.

The Serbian Government today assessed Slovenia's refusal to comply with an instruction of federal organs and send its contingent to the combined police force in Kosovo as another gross violation of the functioning of the Yugoslav federation.

The Serbian Government today again criticized Slovenia for demanding the "lifting of emergency measures in Kosovo while terrorist actions by Albanian separatists and chauvinists continue there." It said the Slovene assessments claiming that threatened in Kosovo are ethnic Albanians and not Serbs and Montenegrins encourage the Albanian separatists.

The Serbian Government was particularly annoyed about the statements by some Slovene officials that Kosovo cannot be an integral part of Serbia.

Bosnian Paper on Assessment of Slovene Amendments

AU1702163990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 90 p 7

[Vlastimir Mijovic commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "The Lessons of a Heresy"—date not given]

[Text] ....After yet another of our vehement debates, in which there was an unprecedented number of tempests in teacups, we are able to state that there was no major reason or no reason at all for these. We are talking about the amendments to the Slovene Constitution which, three to four months ago, filled the extra points on the agendas of almost all our official as well as newly formed political organizations and institutions. The creators of the constitution in the state were at that time showered with menacing words and verbal tirades ruthlessly thundered around the "destroyers of Yugoslavia." And now that we have recently been informed of the official assessment of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court—it is clear that the cannons were firing at pigeons. Specialist expertise therefore shows that there was so little that was contentious or controversial in these amendments that this could not by any means have caused so many extraordinary sessions—that were even convened overnight—let alone some of the bombastic assessments, after which the Slovenes were accused of betraying Yugoslav interests and the general Yugoslav idea.

Now, from this perspective and with this knowledge—primarily based on the expertise of an official institution—it is clear that in this "constitutional putsch," the Slovenes made only one major mistake: they applied one of their political patents without offering anyone else the chance to do the same thing themselves. Because, let us recall those few voices of reason which somehow penetrated the general cacophony and insisted at that time—not seeing the destructive drives in the Slovene amendments—on a general Yugoslav constitutional sobering up and reanalysis, but following the Slovene signpost. So, now our hair no longer stands on end when people elsewhere attempt to precisely regulate, through the Constitution, the right to self-determination, for example, which at that time put many people into a political and even intimate trance.

This, therefore, is another in the line of apparently inevitable Yugoslav tales of intolerance, misunderstanding, malice, and ignorance. This habit really was inevitable during the long period of our reanalysis which, of course, continues. Virtually every new idea—and only these can break the shackles of old thinking—has painstakingly established itself. Prophesy is branded a crime and a prophet is accused of being a criminal. But then, when the first wave passes and the dust settles a little, even violent opponents would lay claim to a previous heresy.

At a time when an overture to the adoption of the constitutional changes is still being played, this episode should be borne in mind because, among other things, the new Constitution will also essentially change even the basic prerequisites of our life together, and the numerous novelties which even yesterday were considered blasphemy will be officially sanctioned. There is no doubt that there will be more of them. Will we find the strength to debate them so that innovations do not become an excuse for the spread of old intolerance, but a stimulus to think about new, better opportunities, no matter how much they resemble a guerrilla attack on the rules that we have become used to living with but which are obviously no good for us? This will certainly, to a great extent, determine the longevity of the general crisis, including the constitutional crisis that Yugoslavia finds itself in.

Serbian LC Document on Kosovo Cited

LD1702105590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—At least 100,000 Serbs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Muslims, Macedonians, Croats, and other citizens of Yugoslavia should return to, that is, settle in Kosovo as soon as possible. This is one measure in a series of political, legal, and other measures that strive to change the impaired national structure in Kosovo which is envisaged by the document "the Serbian League of Communists [LC] for the Peace, Freedom, Equality, Democracy, and Prosperity of Kosovo." This document, including the remarks and suggestions from yesterday's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, has been adopted by the Serbian LC Central Committee. Over the last 40 years, it is cited, more than 400,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from the province, 130,000 of them during the period from 1967 to 1987.

The law-governed state should immediately take effective measures in order to finally terminate the unlawful acts and injustices inflicted on Serbs, Montenegrins, and other citizens in Kosovo. The competent organs are obligated to expel as soon as possible all the individuals from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania [PSRA] who are not Yugoslav citizens and who live in Yugoslavia illegally. At the same time, the document resumes, all decisions by organs in the Serbian Socialist Republic [SR] granting Yugoslav citizenship and property in the Serbian SR, particularly in Kosovo, to individuals from the PSRA should be re-examined. If it is established that this was done in an unlawful way or if they have committed acts against the constitutionally established order, their citizenship and property should be taken away from them.

A special part of the text is devoted to the economic reform as a means of Kosovo's development, as it envisages a series of measures for the recovery of the province's economic development. Special aims also were stipulated in the sphere of science, education, culture, and information. In this way, the policy of

national equality and particularly the truth of Kosovo, would be even further affirmed.

More on Serbian Document

AU1902153490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 17 February on pages 1, 6, and 7 carries the text of an approximately 8,000-word document entitled, "The League of Communists of Serbia for Peace, Freedom, Equality, Democracy, and Prosperity in Kosovo," which was adopted by the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia at its session held in Belgrade on 15 February.

The document states, among other things: "The widest political activity and great mobilization will be initiated in the LC of Serbia and the republic as a whole and in Kosovo in particular on the basis of the orientations in this document. Bearing in mind the character, importance, and aims of the initiatives and actions that have been launched, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia obliges the delegates of the LC of Serbia in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to provide well-argued explanations for the contents of this document at the next session of the Assembly and propose that the Socialist Republic of Serbia's complete program on Kosovo be adopted."

Drnovsek Interview With NOVA MAKEDONIJA

LD1302224190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek does not see a lasting solution of the Kosovo problem through the use of force; he believes that a mutual dialogue is necesary. He is of the opinion that inflation can be restrained if politicians distance themselves from money, and he believes that the Constitution should be changed by an accelerated procdeure, and free political association and the multiparty system ensured as early as at the next elections. Here he advocates a more tolerant and constructive atmosphere in the carrying out of work on the Constitution.

In short, these are the main elements of the interview of SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, which this Skopje paper will publish in tomorrow's edition.

It is in the common interest of the members of all the nations and nationalities who live in Kosovo that they live in peace and that mutual trust is restored, Drnovsek believes. Hence it is necessary to reestablish mutual dialogue.

The state must intervene if there is violent destruction of the constitutional order and if there is a danger of interethnic conflicts. Here the Presidency has special competence and it takes measures, as needed, for which it is competent and responsible.

However, an intervention by state organs must always be fair regardless of the complexity of a situation. I therefore attach importance to the need to clarify the circumstances under which human casualities and injuries occurred. The state cannot abuse its powers whatever the circumstances and it must be objective toward all nations and nationalities. In this way alone it can expect to enjoy the necessary trust of everyone including Kosovo and others.

Judicial organs must act properly and must adapt themselves much faster to the changes in the penal code under procedure at the moment in the SFRY Assembly. We can persecute and try people if they instigate or carry out violent activities designed to dismantle the country's constitutional order but not for their different views.

In my view Kosovo's problems can be resolved only within the context of political and economic reforms being implemented in the country at present. The institutionalization of political pluralism will provide scope for expressing most differing views and for resolving all problems including the issue of stable coexistence in Kosovo. Each individual and organization, including so-called alternative ones, must be given an opportunity to take part in this providing they are prepared to make a constructive contribution to efforts to resolve Kosovo's problems.

A stable solution to Kosovo's problems requires full respect for the equality of all our nations and nationalities with the majority nation prepared to assume special responsibility for protecting those who are in a minority. In this context emigration under duress must, of course, be prevented.

The SFRY Presidency has already set in motion preparations of a special development program for Kosovo, which, apart from the economic component, would include in particular demographic policy. We count on an improvement in the economic situation and a new wave of empolyment in Kosovo will reduce the current tensions.

I hold that this approach, which presupposes the protection of the SFRY's constitutional order, its integrity, equality of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo, respect for human rights, and further democratization, could be supported fully in all parts of our country. Thereby, mutual accusations and quarrels could cease, which, of course, presupposes a greater tolerance for differing views.

In the lengthy interview to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Drnovsek reviewed in particular the constitutional changes in the country. In the SFRY Presidency's ititiative for the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution, we introduced major changes in the political system which are evident especially in free associations without party monopoly and maximum protection of human rights. In the meantime, the process of political changes in our country has gathered speed, so that it has become clear that some political solutions should be adopted in an

emergency procedure and that it should be ensured that free political association and the multiparty system are already present in practice at the next elections. I believe that this approach is realistic, bearing in mind that when a complete SFRY Constitution is adopted some important open issues, especially regarding mutual relations within the federation, should be resolved. Therefore, it would be rational to speed up changes regarding issues for which there is a consensus, and that those issues for which a general agreement has not yet been reached in the country, are considered and harmonized in a regular procedure and in a set period of time.

It is obvious that for the adoption of the new Constitution, stresses Drnovsek, an atmosphere is required which is more tolerant and more constructive in relation to the present atmosphere. It is difficult to attain agreement, especially on the issue of reciprocal relations in the federation, if we have conflicts between our republics, if we have reciprocal economic and political blockades, and when from time to time the relations between our republics remind one of a state of war. It is clear that such mutual relations are inane and that they are in no one's interest. The SFRY Presidency has undertaken, is undertaking, and will undertake measures so that this sort of mutual relations can be overcome. We attend sessions of republican and provincial presidencies and we visit republics and provinces, we work to take heat out of tense interethnic relations and we appeal to all men of common sense in the country to join us in our efforts to allay nationalisms which are on the rise everywhere.

Drnovsek then spoke of the SFRY Presidency's role. Presidency members are representatives of their republics and provinces in the Presidency and with their work they should in some way establish a link between what is republican and what is federal, he stressed. The differences between our republics and provinces must be observed realistically and jointly acceptable solutions must be found. I think that in view of rather unsettled relations between our republics and provinces the SFRY Presidency has managed to function relatively well, although, of course, there are differences with regard to some issues. The constitutional principle of work in the Presidency is to coordinate the stands. However, if this is not possible, and a decision has to be made, then in keeping with our standing orders, we adopt the majority principle of decisionmaking.

Drnovsek stressed that he believed in the federation, but under normal conditions and in a normal situation. It is difficult to discuss greater integration and stronger federation with rampant nationalists who refuse to acknowledge the logic of reason and who keep reverting to historic differences and conflicts not taking note of the civilizing movements in the world. Integration and stronger federation are possible with the acceptance of general values of civilization such as individual human rights, democracy, and an efficient market economy system. Whoever puts national membership before these principles cannot become integrated in the current trends of European and international integration, nor is he a genuine partner for talks about stronger federation.

Reviewing proposals of some republics and provinces regarding changes to the Constitution, Drnovsek stressed that their range is broad. Thus, on the one side, there are demands for a further consolidation of the federation and transfer of more responsibility to the federation, and, on the other, there are demands for greater autonomy of republics and for solutions which lead toward confederation. These different approaches are in accordance with the present disrupted relations in the country. Some see the exaggerated independence of republics as the reason for the disrupted relations and the strengthening of the federation as the remedy; others, proceeding from the current unfavorable relations, express their distrust of the federation or other parts of the country and want to protect themselves with greater independence for their republic. It is obvious that, in a further discussion, we shall have to clarify some fundamental issues of our life together and create conditions [passage indistinct].

Drnovsek Makes 2-Day Visit to Macedonia

Talks in Skopje on Elections

AU1502224690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Excerpt] SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek is paying a two-day visit to Macedonia. He had talks with the republican leadership at the Macedonian Presidency building and then visited the 11 October Bus Factory. Here is Boris Djordjioski reporting from Skopje:

An official announcement will be released on the talks on the current sociopolitical and economic situation in Yugoslavia and Macedonia that were held at the Macedonian Presidency building, but we nevertheless asked SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek to assess the talks he had in Skopje today:

[Begin Drnovsek recording] The talks held at the Macedonian Presidency today were extremely intensive and, in my opinion, useful. We touched upon the most important economic questions, that is, questions of the economic reform, and of the political reform. The Macedonian comrades stated some specific problems, particularly those concerning forthcoming elections. This one seems to be one of the most topical problems in our country in general: How is one to ensure that changes in the political system that we clearly advocate—parliamentary democracy and the multiparty system—are present at the forthcoming elections to the maximum. Should one then postpone the elections or still try to carry them out within the set period and thereby essentially satisfy all our citizens. We have broached this question and I think that we will present an opinion, that is, try to coordinate an opinion at the federal level in the coming days, because opinions in republics now differ. We all agree that there is no point in carrying out some

kind of elections based on the old system and then carry out new ones based on the new system a few months later.

However, there are now some formal limitations and complications, so we shall try to find a realistic (?way). In my opinion, it is important to point out that essence should have an advantage over a pure formalist approach.

Yes, this system, these political reforms should be implemented in practice as soon as possible. That means that they should be shown in these coming elections. [end recording]

After these talks, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek visited the 11 October Bus Factory. [passage omitted]

More on Meetings, Remarks

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 15 Feb (TANJUG)—The current changes to the economic and political system in the country have achieved more than was achieved in the preceeding ten years. The SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council are resolute in their intention to perservere in implementing reforms, said SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek today to representatives of the 11 October bus factory from Skopje. Drnovsek arrived on a two-day visit to Macedonia. He stressed that a good start has been achieved for making a great leap that would open up Yugoslavia to Europe and the world, and that the current collective head of the state will strive to secure permanent, stable, and long-term conditions for making forcasts, which so far has not been a usual practice. By the end of this year, Drnovsek believes, all necessary conditions for the country's stable economic development will have been created. This will stimulate greater use of new investments from the country and abroad and will result in improved living standards for all Yugoslavs.

The president of the SFRY Presidency arrived in Skopje this morning, at which time he had talks with Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the Macedonian Socialist Republic, and then visited the 11 October bus factory, where he answered questions. On that occasion, he said, among other things, that the fund for financing the development of underdeveloped areas would remain, but in a substantially altered form.

Noting that more energy soon will be spent on seeking better solutions for the future, the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed that the outstanding conflicts between republican and provincial leaderships are results of previous tensions. Now it can be seen that we can reach agreement more easily and that disagreements are not substantial, Drnovsek emphasized.

The president of the SFRY Presidency also reviewed the Kosovo problem on this occasion. He said that this must not put our economic and political development into jeopardy. In an additional explanation given in the course of talks with the journalists covering his visit, Dr. Drnovsek expanded on this theme, saying that the state should intervene in Kosovo with all necessary measures aimed at preserving its own integrity, but that it cannot count on short-term solutions alone. Kosovo needs a true economic program, and in particular, it needs social programs because it is necessary to resolve the problem of population "boom" in the province.

Drnovsek assessed his talks with the Macedonian leadership as beneficial. They covered many issues topical both for Macedonia and for the entire state. The dominant topics were the forthcoming elections, changes to the political system, and the protection of the rights of Macedonians in neighboring countries. The collective head of the state soon will publish its stand on whether the elections should be held on the dates set, or whether they should be held after the adoption of constitutional and legal changes that will alter the present elections system substantially. Republican stands on this issue are still in discord with one another, but the proccess of harmonizing them is underway.

The president of the SFRY Presidency said that his hosts had informed him in detail about the status of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. He expressed the hope that democratic changes underway in Bulgaria will be implemented thoroughly, which means that all the rights of Macedonians in that country will be acknowledged. Dr. Drnovsek stressed that Yugoslavia, as a state, will react to any violation of the rights of Macedonians in the neighboring countries, and added that our country will officially insist that all rights be granted to Macedonians living in Greece.

This afternoon, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek laid a wreath at the Monument to Macedonian national hero Goce Delcev, who is buried in St. Saviour's Church.

Army Party Organization on Congress Adjournment

LD1902211390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Feb (TANJUG)—The committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organization in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] has adopted, on the basis of consultations among its membership and the debate conducted at the committee's session of 14 February 1990, assessments in the wake of the adjournment of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress and stances on its resumption. These assessments and stances are as follows:

First: The adjournment of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress followed the differing approaches of the LCY'S parts to resolving the essential questions of the social reform which, in their turn, gave rise to different and mutually opposing conceptions of its own

transformation as well as of the further development of the Yugoslav federation. This was also clearly manifested at the congress which confirmed once again our divisions, intolerance, exclusiveness, and unwillingness to consider different views and arguments. This has brought about a dramatization of the differences, the domination of short-term political interests, the decisionmaking on some amendments that did not consider their true essence, ultimatums, blockades, the abandonment of the congress by the delegates of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] and the adjournment of the congress' work.

Unfortunately, a significant role in this was played, and still is, by some individual members of the LCY leaderships who are acting against the LCY and its policy.

Delegates and members of LCY organs from LCY organizations in the YPA advocated directly in the preparations and at the congress itself that the congress be prepared in the best possible way and end successfully, and here they represented in a politically responsible and consistent way the stances on an all-Yugoslav platform which were approved at the ninth conference of the LCY organization in the YPA and at the second session of the committee. In the conditions as they were, objectively speaking, they were unable to have a decisive influence on the course of the congress.

Communists in the YPA assess that the adjournment of the work of the 14th extraordinary congress caused great harm to the LCY, with still unforeseeable consequences, and some of them are obvious. There came about a decline in membership, the disintegration and division of some LC organizations on a national basis and a diminishing of the action capability, social reputation, and integrative power of the LCY. In this way opportunities were given to opponents of the LCY and the SFRY for their enhanced destructive activity. There followed a large-scale destructive and terrorist surge by Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo and the further destruction of the country's political unity by the even more aggressive appearance of the most extreme opposition forces on a nationalist and anticommunist platform.

Under the conditions which have arisen there has been a loss of Yugoslavia's reputation, and its international position has been weakened. Foreign interference in our internal affairs and enhanced interest in the course and outcome of the crisis are increasingly in evidence. [passage omitted on need to reaffirm LCY as a Yugoslav political organization; criticism of Slovenia's actions in ending the existence of the LCY as an all-Yugoslav organization; advocacy of continuation of LCY Congress; call for an end to mutual accusations between the republics and provinces; new program and statute of LCY needed once the congress is over]